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ornament to our age; and it led to his being consulted by scholars, and even by statesmen and princes, in Europe and all over India, from one extremity of the empire to another. But the homage thus paid him, which might have turned a weaker brain than Goldstücker's, never altered him. His manners were always perfectly simple and unassuming. And he was not only the scholar; his mind was so little weighted by the cumbrous panoply of his vast erudition that it kept in the van of the contemporary movements of public opinion; so that a stranger meeting him in society might have fancied that he was absorbed by some topic of the day. He was not only a scholar, for the friends who consulted him upon other than literary subjects were astonished at the mass of his information and the abundance of his ideas, which he readily put at their service; and the benevolence of his nature made him so accessible and agreeable to every one, great or small, that even the children who knew the Professor acutely felt his loss. His relation with this Association was a peculiar one. No other European appeared to understand the natives of India so well as Goldstücker. His mind seemed to have watched over their development from the infancy of their civilization, and to have a parental affection for them. Most natives of India who visited our shores, instinctively found their way to Goldstücker. Whether he could help them or not, *and he did help many of them*, they knew they could place implicit confidence in him, and were sure of his sympathy for every honest cause. The only topic of consideration which suggested itself in connexion with such a bereavement is that this Association, to which so many of his hopes and aspirations were attached, still survives to promote some of his dearest objects. Professor Goldstücker felt strongly that the union of able and honourable men in this Association, comprising some of the greatest celebrities, joined together for the unselfish and disinterested purpose of making the British Empire in India a blessing to the natives, and of securing the happiness and content of the people, must in some way directly or indirectly effect great good, and that, too, quite independent of any special theory or plan which any individual might bring forward. Professor Goldstücker therefore gave the East India Association his full confidence, and brought to it that confidence of the natural leaders of native society without which it would have been impossible to progress. (Hear, hear.) The Chairman then intimated that the subject for discussion would be introduced by a gentleman known to all who were interested in the affairs of India as one who had spent some years in India, in making careful inquiries into the condition of the people, and who in doing this had enriched our libraries with volumes showing the valuable result of those labours. There was, therefore, no

doubt that the subject would be treated in an able and interesting manner, and respectful consideration of any suggestion he might make was certainly due to him.

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD said : Perhaps not the least interesting part of my address will be the announcement with which I shall commence it—*i.e.*, that it will be very brief. I generally find that on these occasions, when we have met to discuss some subject connected with India, the debate has been adjourned in consequence of very many gentlemen being deprived of the opportunity of speaking. But the adjournment of a discussion is an expedient I am always sorry to see resorted to, because, in the first place, it is difficult to get people together on the second occasion, and those who do attend have probably not been present on the first occasion, and hence are unacquainted with what has been said, and are not exactly sure of the propositions which have been laid down in the treatment of the subject before them. I shall therefore be as brief as I possibly can, and compress my remarks into a small compass, in order that a full and ample discussion may take place. All that I shall ask is that the Chairman will afford me the opportunity of replying to any objections which may be raised. I feel that another remark is forced upon me, from the fact that within the last few days we have been put in possession, for the first time, of all the details of that most grievous and lamentable occurrence, the assassination of Lord Mayo—details so graphic that they seem to bring before us every particular of that shocking event almost as if it had passed before our very eyes. It may be unnecessary, but I feel somehow that I ought to make the remark, that in entering upon the consideration of a question which is intended to promote the benefit of the people of India we should recollect that we ought not to allow our minds to be in the slightest degree influenced by the horror which we all feel at the commission of that terrible crime. For I thoroughly believe that the statement which is made by the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, in his letter published to-day, is fully and literally true, and that the regret and sorrow which we have felt at this shocking occurrence is shared in to the fullest extent by the native population of India. (Hear.) And whether we accompany in our imagination that solemn and mournful procession which carried the remains of the deceased Viceroy from Government House across the locality we most of us know so well, or whether we stand in the midst of the bazaars and crowded cities of India, where, when the news was flashed to them by the electric telegraph, the consternation which fell upon the people was, as it has been described to us, as if a pestilence had swept over the land—we do so amid the deepest sympathies and the most heartfelt regrets of the whole native population of India.

another, or with an ambitious minister to supplant his sovereign ; instead of employing Hindoo and Mohammedan mercenaries to slaughter Sikhs, and Sikhs and Pathans to slaughter Hindoos and Hindoostanee Mohammedans ; instead of reseating by the bayonet some dethroned prince in the palace of his ancestors, and driving out the usurper to make way for a political *protegé*—we lay ourselves out to maintain the peace of all India, to keep down rivalry among chiefs, to force the Hindoo and the Mohammedan, the Sikh and the Pathan, to live in peace and amity ; we introduce one uniform system of law, one uniform procedure, and, as far as possible, one language ; we lay ourselves out to educate the masses, and though not so successful as we might wish, yet the results in the aggregate are stupendous ; we do our best in every way, and with every means we can employ, to weld into one people the different races of India. This process is being very rapidly carried out, not only by the efforts which we are systematically making to effect it, but by the spontaneous operation of a law which is at this age of the world's history in activity in every quarter of the civilized globe. It is the law by which the old balance of power, founded on political divisions of a political basis, is yielding to a balance of power founded on the *principle* of NATIONALITY.

The effect that this change must have upon the relations on which the British Indian Government stands to the people of this country is too obvious to need to be insisted upon. Briefly, as Mr. Bonnerjee has well expressed it, “the British Government of India, under the present system, cannot be permanent, because it owns and recognizes no responsibility to the people of India.” It recognizes a duty, but holds itself accountable to no one for the mode in which it performs that duty ; and the result is the same as if it refused to recognize it altogether.

It is an invidious task, and it might possibly be a dangerous one, to point out in detail the places where our hold upon India is the weakest. It would be very easy to do it ; but one is liable to the imputation of being unpatriotic, and of being an alarmist. I do not wish to lay myself open to either charge, and will therefore confine myself to general principles. The conditions which have aided us *hitherto* in our political difficulties in India, and extricated us from them, are now wholly changed. In our next political dilemma we shall find those conditions no longer on our side. On former occasions, and notably on the last great occasion, our principal efforts were directed to discover how best to utilize the sympathies of the mass of the people who were with us. On the next occasion we shall have none of their sympathies to utilize. By legislation and taxation, obnoxious rather because it is unsuited to the people than because it is in itself oppressive ; by extravagant expenditure, rather from neglect of the proper supervision of public departments than

because it is vicious and corrupt; by the establishment and extension over the whole country of a police force, so constituted as to become an engine of enormous oppression in the hands of unscrupulous subordinates; above all, by an uncertain and capricious policy towards the heads of independent states—treating them, when it suits our purpose, as independent princes with whom our relations are regulated by treaty, at another time as British subjects, but denying to them the ordinary privileges of British subjects; by putting strained and distorted interpretations upon the words of treaties;—we have done so much to alienate the affections of both chiefs and people, that in the event of any disruption of the existing conditions between European powers—the opening of the Eastern question, for instance, or a war with America—it is not acting the part of an alarmist to say that our position in India would be one of exceeding peril.

But apart from all such considerations of possible political contingencies—and they are contingencies which it is not wise altogether to ignore—if we but proceed by the light which all past history affords we can see but one of two alternative solutions of the Indian question. Either, as time goes on, the races of India, growing in intelligence and enlightenment, and gradually merging their race distinctions in a principle of nationality—and the progress already made towards this result within the last few years has been striking—either the races of India will become welded into one great people, will recognize their political rights, and proceed to claim them by separating from Great Britain; or the union between England and India must be made permanent by the actual incorporation of the latter *into the British Empire*. Some one may say, “It is already incorporated. It became incorporated “when Her Majesty’s Proclamation of 1858 was promulgated.” I admit it *ought* to have been so incorporated then, and it was in theory incorporated, but not in practice; for from the date of that Proclamation a right accrued to the people of India, which if it came to be a right in possession would have the effect of so incorporating India in the Empire. I well know that the words I am about to utter will grate harshly upon official ears, and possibly be deemed by many who hear me a paradox; yet I speak them with the fullest conviction that they will be recognized hereafter, if they are rejected now, as the enunciation of a solemn truth. I say a right accrued to India from the date when Her Majesty’s Proclamation was published in Calcutta in November, 1858; a right, the concession of which, while it is the only key to the difficulties every day growing up around our position in India, would be the certain means of cementing the union between Great Britain and our Eastern Empire; a right, the denial of which will before long sever the

relations between the two countries—the right of Representation in Parliament.

The word *right* is used in a political, not a legal sense; that is to say, a concession which is based on generally recognised principles of justice, and is admitted by common consent to be due to a certain class or portion of the community, is a political right. It may be defined as the power of exercising a function, or of enjoying a benefit that ought to be possessed by any individual, or any class, or any community, being a unit in the state, by virtue of such relations to the state as render the individual, the class, or the community, liable to contribute to the resources of the State.

Here I would pause a moment to draw your attention to the distinction between *Representation of India in Parliament*, and a *Representative Government in India*. THE ONE INVOLVES A PERMANENT UNION OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. THE OTHER IS TANTAMOUNT TO A LASTING AND COMPLETE SEPARATION BETWEEN THEM.

I proceed to state briefly,

First, the grounds on which the rights of India to claim the concession of being represented in Parliament rest.

Secondly, whether it is in the power of the Crown and Parliament to grant it.

Thirdly, I shall notice a few of the objections that lie on the surface against it.

First: On what grounds does the right of India to claim the concession rest? It rests upon the grounds of justice, justice to the 150 millions of Indian-born British subjects who own the supremacy of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain—justice, I say, because until this concession is granted the Government of India cannot be fairly and efficiently administered.

At present I am considering the right or claim to a concession only as regards the House of Commons. Now the functions of the House of Commons are two, legislative and executive. These functions are separate in principle, although performed in the same assembly and at the same time. There is no reason why they should not be performed separately, and it is probable that the separation of the two functions will be before long recognised as the only practicable solution to the difficulty, every session growing more and more formidable, of getting through the business of the House. There is no reason why they should not be separately performed. Here I will quote an authority you will all admit. Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, said in 1766: "The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the Crown and

“the Peers have rights in taxation as well as yourselves, rights which they will claim, which they will exercise whenever the principle can be supported by power.” The sovereign power, which is the Crown, Lords, and Commons, can delegate to separate communities, when and as it pleases, the power to legislate for themselves. It has delegated, subject to its own veto, this power to the Indian Legislative Council for India. As regards India the legislation for the country is so arduous a task, and one requiring theoretically so much knowledge of the people (although in practice actual acquaintance with the requirements of the country is almost wholly ignored), that it must be carried out in India. Until some change takes place in the mode of conducting the business of the House of Commons, and its legislative functions are separately performed either by a Legislative Committee of the House or in some other mode, it would be impossible for the House of Commons to undertake the duty of legislating for India, and unreasonable to ask it to do so, although there is no reason why legislative enactments should not be subjected for the approval of the House—an arrangement which I think would be attended with most salutary results.

But the executive government of India is now theoretically conducted in the House of Commons—that is to say, the House of Commons has made itself responsible for the government of India. What India is entitled to demand is, that the House of Commons, having taken that responsibility on itself, should spare no pains and leave no instrument untried to enable it to perform the all-important duty satisfactorily. The executive functions of the House of Commons consist in the granting of supplies or passing the annual Budget. You know that the annual assembling of Parliament has been rendered necessary ever since the Revolution, by the fact that the Mutiny Act and the Budget are only granted for a year; and the Crown is therefore compelled to summon a Parliament to pass these measures. By ancient right—a right lying at the foundation of the Constitution—the House of Commons has the exclusive control over taxation, and at its will may grant or withhold supplies to the Crown.

Precisely as the Budget is submitted annually to the House of Commons—in other words, supplies are granted for carrying on the government of the United Kingdom—so in the same way are supplies for carrying on the government of India solicited and granted, only with this difference, that in the one case every item is criticized and examined, and in the other no intelligent interest whatever is taken in the matter. And why? Because, members say, and say with truth, they are not competent to understand it. Under such conditions is it too much for India to ask that her interests may be protected by the presence in the

House of a certain number of representatives, who, while powerless to raise any factious opposition against the sense of the House, would be capable of explaining the real wants of their country?

One important function of the House of Commons, a part of the general function of granting supplies, is to secure redress of grievances before granting supplies. This function dates from a very early period, probably from the reign of Edward II. (1308). The acts of the Executive Government of India occasionally, not very often, are complained of as unjust or oppressive. The grievance is discussed in the House of Commons. We have lately seen an instance where the attention of a well-attended House was occupied closely for five or six hours in discussing a question of this nature. The votes of a large and influential section of the Commons on that occasion bore testimony to the lively interest members take in a question of the kind when it is one that they can understand. During the course of the debate statements were made regarding tribes, and the habits and customs of India, which were wholly at variance with the facts, arising from want of acquaintance with the subject on the part of those who made these statements. Would the cause of justice and of truth suffer, would the peace and safety of the empire be imperilled, if there were representatives present who could, from their own knowledge, correct such errors, and so give the House sound premises on which to base their conclusions?

But not only does the House of Commons in reality grant supplies for the administration of the government of India, but laws passed by the Legislative Council in India and confirmed by the Viceroy are liable to the veto of the Secretary of State, an officer for whose administration the House of Commons is responsible, for if he does what they disapprove they can force him out of office. The House of Commons, then, really administers, or is responsible for the administration of the revenues of India and the executive government of India; and the House of Commons, being a representative assembly, and having repeatedly asserted the representative principle as the principle of the British Constitution—having acknowledged by the concession to Wales, to Scotland, and to Ireland successively of the right to be represented in Parliament, the principle that every portion of the empire *whose government is administered by Parliament* has a right to be represented there—it is impossible, if it be put fairly before Parliament, that it can refuse to acknowledge, on the broad principles of justice, the right of India to be represented there also.

The second point, whether it is in the power of the Crown and Parliament to grant the concession, is easily disposed of. Sir Edward Coke says: "The supreme legislative power of the British Empire is by its

“Constitution given to Parliament. The power and jurisdiction of Parliament is so transcendant and absolute that it cannot be confined either for causes or forms within any bounds”; and, repeating these words, Sir W. Blackstone adds that “it is the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is “entrusted by the Constitution of these kingdoms.”

Wales was admitted to Representation in the House of Commons in Henry VIII.'s time. By the Act of Union, 5 Ann, cap. 8, Scotland was admitted to Representation, the number of representatives being limited to forty-five. By the Act of Union, 39 and 40 George III., cap. 67, Ireland was admitted, the number being limited by that Act to one hundred. There is nothing but an Act of Parliament required to admit India in the same way to Representation, the number of representatives being limited by the Act admitting them; and I believe that there is in the House of Commons sufficient regard for the fundamental principles of justice for such an Act to be passed. Is there no man ready to hand his name down to posterity among the wisest and most far-seeing of English statesmen, by introducing an Act to effect the union between England and her Indian Empire by means of the admission to Parliament of a certain number of representatives for 150 millions of British subjects at present represented nowhere?

I proceed briefly to anticipate some objections which may be made to this suggested reform. It will probably be said that the thing is impracticable—First, Because of the enormous size of India, and the immense number of its inhabitants. It will be asked, “Is the House of Commons to be swamped with representatives for 150 millions of “people?” Secondly, Because of the impossibility of finding fit men to represent India. Thirdly, Because of the impossibility of introducing a system so foreign to the habits, customs, and usages of the people of India as the election of representatives. Fourthly, Because of the mechanical difficulties in the way of registering votes. I know of no other objections that can be raised. Probably, if there are any, they will be brought out by the discussion which I hope will follow this address. To take these objections in order:—

First: The size of India and the number of representatives. It is in the power of Parliament by the same Act that grants the concession of admission to fix the number of representatives, just as it has done in the case of Scotland and Ireland. This is a mere detail in the scheme, which is of minor importance compared with the principle involved. I should be well content to see five or six representatives at first;—one from each Presidency and Minor Presidency, Governorship or Lieutenant-Governorship; or if even only the three Presidency Cities, Calcutta,

Bombay, and Madras, to which may be added Allahabad and Lahore, sent representatives, these would be sufficient to prevent the House from falling into many of those mistakes which it is apt to make from ignorance of the subject, when an Indian budget or an Indian question is before it. If the distance these representatives would have to come be taken as an objection, it must be recollected that the journey from India to England can be performed in a shorter time than it must have taken members, not so very long ago, to travel up to London from the South-west and North of England.

Secondly : As to the fitness of men to represent India. I apprehend that the objection will not be seriously entertained. The provinces having the right of election might select their own representatives ; and it is hard indeed if, in the whole community of Great Britain and of India, there could not be found five men fit to represent our Indian provinces. Give India the chance, the fitting men will not long be wanted. A deeper consideration of this subject would involve an inquiry into the comparative intellectual development of the different branches of the Aryan race—a subject foreign to my present purpose. But there would be no more necessity for confining the representation of India to natives of that country than there is for confining the representation of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales to natives of those countries respectively.

Thirdly : The alleged impossibility of introducing a system foreign to the habits and mind of the people, and the mechanical difficulties of registering the suffrages. This question also is too large a one for me to enter into in detail. I might content myself by referring to Mr. Bonnerjee's paper, which is recorded in the first volume of the *Journal* of this Association, where he expressly points out a conclusion to which my own reading has led me—and, I doubt not, of all those present who have studied the history of India will also have led them—that government by Representation is, in fact, an indigenous institution in India, just as it is among all other branches of the Aryan family. You cannot turn to any page of the ancient annals of India without finding abundant evidence that the institution of Representative Government is not only not foreign to the Indian mind, but always was, until overgrown by despotic systems introduced by conquerors in comparatively recent times, an institution commonly in vogue, and completely in accordance with the usages, traditions, habits, and customs of the people. We find abundant traces of that institution in some shape or other in almost every department of social economy in India now. This is a question which, if disputed, must be settled by a reference to those learned in the past and present social condition of India. To that testimony I confidently appeal.

We have introduced into India our forms of law, our procedure, our military organization, and our complicated machinery of official administration—all systems foreign to the mind, usages, and traditions of the people—without a thought or care whether they were understood or misunderstood. Representative Government—a principle with which the people are by tradition and usage familiar—we are told, is too essentially a European principle to be ever adapted to the country! Such a remark can only arise from misrepresentation or from ignorance. I believe that the proposal to elect representatives to sit in Parliament, the great *Punchayat* of the empire, would be readily understood, as I am sure it would be eagerly embraced, and the election itself could be carried out in any part of India, except, of course, among the aboriginal or uncivilized tribes (where it need not be attempted) with the greatest possible facility. There would be no more difficulty in making the people understand the system in any of the cities of India now at the present moment, than is to be met with in Ireland or Cornwall. The mode of election, the limit of the suffrage, and other details, need not be considered here. All I am contending for is the recognition of the principle that India is to be no longer left unrepresented in Parliament. Let that be recognized, and every part of the machinery would fall into its place at once, and work with the utmost ease.

Two points more remain to be briefly touched upon. India must not be confounded with the Colonies. Some people, with an inaccurate habit of expressing themselves in speaking, occasionally class India in the category of Colonies. Now there is nothing whatever in common between India and the Colonies, except the bare fact that as the Colonies are separated from Great Britain by the waters of the ocean, so also is India. In the Colonies the soil belongs to the Colonists; the Colonists make and administer their own laws; they raise their own revenues; they arrange for their own protection; they are represented in their own Representative Assemblies; and their Executive Government is under no control in this country, except that of public opinion. People, too, are apt to entertain a notion that the Colonies are subject to the Colonial Secretary in the same way and to the same extent that India is to the Secretary of State for India. But this is a great delusion, and except in two things—one, the appointment of Governors, which is a right the Colonists might take into their own hands to-morrow if they chose; and the regulation of the customs duties, which is more a matter of treaty between Great Britain and her Colonies than anything else—the Colonies are practically independent of this country. You will see that India is on a totally different footing. The relations between India and England, *if India had her rights*, would correspond as closely as

possible to the relations between Ireland and England; but there is scarcely a single point on which they correspond to the relations between England and the Colonies. There is indeed a startling historical analogy between the relation Ireland formerly bore, and India recently has borne to England. Ireland was originally conquered, not by the Crown, but by military adventurers. "Henry II. had little share in the "reduction of Ireland," says Hallam, "beyond receiving the homage of "Irish princes, and granting charters to the English nobility. Strongbow, Lacy, Fitzstephen, were the real conquerors through whom any "portion of Irish territory was gained by force of arms and treaty: and "as they began the enterprise without the King, they carried it on also "for themselves, deeming their swords a better security than his charters." Is the analogy to be perpetuated by a reproduction in India of the misrule which has made Ireland what it is—a source of perpetual trouble and anxiety to the Government, and the most dangerous element of weakness in the Empire?

The other matter which needs a word or two is the assertion I have seen made, that India cannot claim the concession to be represented in Parliament on the same grounds that Ireland could claim it, because her revenues do not contribute to the Imperial Exchequer. This is an assertion which needs only to be stated to exhibit its own refutation. England, Scotland, Ireland contribute nothing directly to the Imperial Exchequer. The resources with which the Chancellor of the Exchequer carries on the government of the Empire are derived indirectly from the commercial and other wealth of the country; according as the property of the country increases the greater is the revenue derived from the Customs, Excise, and Taxation, direct and indirect. By means of the revenues thus derived, the expenses of Government are met, public works prosecuted, the defence of the Empire provided for, law administered, society protected, and a vast number of citizens employed in various departments; commercial industry is aided, and as we say, the country thrives. Where is the principle, then, by which India, which contributes, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has shown this Association, ten millions annually in cash to the resources of Great Britain, besides imports to the value of upwards of thirty millions; consuming exports from this country to the value of upwards of twenty-two millions; which supplies the pay of seventy thousand British officers and soldiers, besides a vast host of British subjects engaged in the civil administration of the country;—where is the principle by which she should be excluded from Representation in Parliament, because she does not contribute to the Imperial Exchequer?

This, then, is my proposition, and I have only to express the hope

that it will be discussed fully and thoroughly and criticized narrowly. If there are any flaws in my reasoning, let them be pointed out; I will be the first to acknowledge them if they can be shown to exist. If there are objections to my scheme, let them be stated; if there are difficulties, let us know what they are, that we may be prepared to meet them. But if what I have said be true—if it be, as I conceive it to be, a fundamental principle in the Constitution of the Empire that no people claiming the character of British subjects ought to be taxed without having a voice, through their representatives, in the choice and mode and imposition of such taxation—if it is unfair and impolitic that the Indian-born subjects of the British Crown should be the only part of the British Empire to which the privilege of Representation is denied—if the scheme I have propounded should commend itself to your minds, as it does to mine, as being a means, and the only feasible means, of cementing the union between England and her Indian possessions—if you see in it, as I do, a safety-valve for that dangerous political ferment which is always agitating the substratum of Indian society, and which has again and again burst out in rebellion, and anarchy, and bloodshed, and civil war—if you see in it, as I do, a panacea for almost all the evils that India complains of—if it is a concession which, grounded, as I believe it to be, on right, represents itself to your minds also as recommended by expediency and sound political wisdom—in a word, if it be, as I believe it to be, the one thing India and England want to make their connection a source of prosperity and happiness to the people of both countries, then I ask you to take up this question with that determination which ensures success, and carry it on unto completion. This is what I ask of you. And to the people of India my advice is—advice which I trust will be carried by the Press and by the numerous societies affiliated with this Association, which exist in every large city in the country, over the length and breadth of the land—that, not with factious impulse or seditious agitation, but with that firm, unyielding spirit that brooks no denial, they demand that a privilege conceded to every other portion of the British Empire shall not be withheld from them. (Cheers.)

MR. E. B. EASTWICK, M.P., Chairman of the East India Association, said that it was perhaps right that he should be the first to address the meeting with reference to the paper which had been just read, because he was the first to bring the subject of the Representation of India in Parliament under the notice of the Association. Mr. Prichard had referred to a paper read by Mr. Bonnerjee, which was on the Representation of the People of India in India; but he had overlooked his (Mr. Eastwick's) paper which was read before the Association in January,

1868, and which was on precisely the same subject as the present paper. Since that time, however, he had to some extent modified his opinions as to the possibility of obtaining admission for the representatives of India in the British Parliament, though he still believed in its expediency. But as he so far shared the opinions of Mr. Prichard, it might have been better for some one else to address the meeting, because what was wanted was a statement of the opposite views to those just set forth. He would, therefore, for the sake of discussion, take the antagonistic view, and state some difficulties which had occurred to him in relation to the subject. In the first place, there was no doubt whatever that the British Parliament was completely overworked as it was; so that, so far from any proposition to increase that work finding any favour, there was rather an idea of separating as much of the Irish and Scotch business as possible from the work of the Imperial Houses of Parliament. And certainly there would be an immense increase of work if representatives were admitted from India, and were Indian matters taken up and debated as fully as their intrinsic merits required. And then there was this greater difficulty, supposing the former to be surmounted—the people of England or their representatives in Parliament would never accept what was proposed; for there was a feeling among Englishmen that no person should sit in the legislative assembly unless he felt in his own person the weight of taxation. Mr. Prichard had with great skill endeavoured to show that the population of India came under this definition; and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had shown that there was an indirect sum paid by India to the exchequer of this country; and it was also true that a large body of English soldiers were supported by the revenues of India. But these assistances which India gave were all indirect, and as a matter of fact the revenues of India were spent in India for the purposes of India; and if any attempts were made to deal directly with any part of the revenues of India there would be an immediate outcry. There was, then, no direct dealing with the revenues of India, and under these circumstances it would be difficult to persuade Englishmen to allow Indians to sit in Parliament. Still, however, he was free to confess that there were very strong arguments in favour of the Representation of India in Parliament; and one of the strongest had not been touched upon by Mr. Prichard—it was that other countries with external possessions had admitted representatives to their legislative assemblies. For instance, the representatives of Goa sat in the Portuguese Assembly; the representatives of French foreign possessions sat in the Assembly in the period of the Republic; and the representatives of Spanish America in the Cortes of Madrid. One other point he wished to mention: he

did hope that in this discussion they would put aside anything like menaces of separation—(hear, hear)—between the two countries. India and England were united now, and no one showed better than Mr. Prichard himself how completely they were so when he spoke of the feeling which pervaded all India at the news of the death of the late Viceroy, Lord Mayo. He therefore protested against these menaces of separation. They had heard them before, and in the United Kingdom, but it remained the United Kingdom still; for the combined strength of the British people was so great that resistance in detail would have no chance of success. And further, he believed that separation between the two countries would be a great evil. (Hear, hear.) He could never help looking at the separation of the United States from England as a great calamity; for though it had been called a great blessing to the United States as hastening their manhood, yet the thought of what might have been, had the English-speaking peoples remained united, was suggestive of a more prosperous state of things than had been attained in the division of the two nations; for had the English race remained united they might have bid defiance to the rest of the world.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY agreed with those who urged that something was required by the people of India, but confessed he should be sorry to see the Indians involved in all the miseries of the British Parliamentary system. (Laughter.) He was at a loss to see how a few Indian representatives could effect good in a Legislative Assembly where anything of importance was judged—not by its merits—but by party exigencies. He could not see the utility of mingling the peculiar institutions of India and England. But there is something which the people of India require, and for which attention must be turned in a direction quite different from that proposed by Mr. Prichard. It should be the duty of the East India Association, aided by such members of the House of Commons as can emancipate themselves from the trammels of party, to take up the separate cases of injustice to Indian subjects as they arise and endeavour to remedy them. At present anything would go down about India; take for instance the *Times* article regarding the case of the Nawab of Tonk. The first part declared there was no doubt of his guilt; the second part affirmed that he had had no trial;—a paradox which those who were accustomed to pin their faith to the *Times* might perhaps understand, but which was not so clear to those who presumed to judge for themselves. (Hear, hear.) That very case was an illustration of what India wanted. There should be no necessity to appeal to Parliament at all on such matters. Grievances like this should go through an ordinary course of law, and come before the Judicial Committee of the

Privy Council, as a matter of course. (Hear, hear.) Instead of pursuing further a visionary scheme of representing India in Parliament, it would be wise to set up a system of solid and impartially-administered law, at the head of which stood the Sovereign of England, deciding all cases in the last resort by the exercise of the Prerogative through the Privy Council.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, late Commissioner of Patna, said the question was one of such extreme importance, and at the same time so much difficulty, that to attempt to enter into anything like an elaborate consideration of it, and of the collateral points connected with it, in a brief speech of ten minutes duration would be impossible. The subject was one that could not be speedily exhausted; it was a subject adapted to those whose powers of oratory could keep them up to Parliamentary pitch for unnumbered hours, and whose privileges of speech were not curtailed by the inexorable clock. He proposed therefore to confine himself to the leading proposition—viz., that India requires Representation; this being a proposition which, whatever that Representation may be, or in whatever form it may be secured, no man will dispute. In using the word Representation he did not use it in its technical sense, involving an election of representatives for India in the House of Commons; but he meant that the interests, the customs, the wishes, the prejudices of the vast population of that great country should have some sort of intelligent representation in the Councils of the Empire. (Hear.) He was very unwilling to say anything disrespectful of the House of Commons, but he must express his opinion that, so far as Indian questions were concerned, the discussions of that honourable body, whenever he had the honour, or rather the pain of listening to them, were characterized by an entire absence of that wisdom, information, and intelligence which usually distinguishes the consultations of that illustrious body. (Hear, hear.) Ignorance, indeed, was the only excuse for the lamentable condition of the great body of the present House of Commons in relation to Indian affairs. One fact being worth a thousand theories, he would refer to an incident in the recent discussion on the case of the Nawab of Tonk. That debate was exceptionally interesting, and, seeing that no fewer than 84 Members voted for justice, it showed a great advance in the feeling of the House of Commons. In the course of that debate the Under-Secretary of State for India achieved one of those remarkable specimens of what might be called political obfuscation, and which pass for Indian statesmanship among a body of some 300 intelligent and reasonable Englishmen in the House of Commons. The question was whether the Nawab of Tonk could have his case referred by the Queen to the Privy Council for their consideration, and with a view to render true justice. Mr.

Grant Duff, in the course of a wonderfully discursive speech, in which he thought it unnecessary to confine himself to his subject, but wandered back into the early history of the British in India, describing the character, not of the present Nawab only, but also of his grandfather, endeavoured to swamp opposition by triumphantly referring to an Indian case, which had come before the Privy Council from India, in which the Privy Council came to the conclusion that they could by no possibility take up the matter. Now the question before the House was whether the power which Her Majesty enjoys, under a special clause of the law, of referring any subject to the Privy Council, should not be exercised in the case of the Nawab of Tonk, so that it might be sent to that body for their consideration, in view of the scandalous proceedings in connection with the case. To such an important question as this, involving in its issues the reputation of British impartiality and justice, it was extremely desirable that every intelligent, conscientious man in the House of Commons should devote his attention, without misdirection from official sources. But the case which the Under-Secretary of State quoted as showing that it was impossible that the Tonk affair could go before the Privy Council—the case of “*The Queen v. Joy Kishen Mookerjee*”—was totally irrelevant to the point, for Her Majesty did not refer that case to her Council. That case was an appeal by a native criminal, a convicted perjurer, who appealed from the Calcutta High Court, and claimed the interference of the Privy Council, as a *matter of right*. The Privy Council came to the conclusion that they would not be justified, under the law which limited their powers, to entertain that appeal. Could any man affirm that it was either just or fair for the Under-Secretary of State, with a full knowledge of the whole circumstances, to produce *ex cathedra* an irrelevant illustration, and dogmatically base a conclusion upon it, that because a private criminal had not the right to appeal, therefore the Queen had not the power to seek advice of her Privy Council? He (the speaker) gave this incident as forcibly illustrating the supreme ignorance which pervades the atmosphere of the House of Commons in respect to India—an ignorance which makes honourable and high-minded Englishmen the mere tools of an official who airs his official knowledge, if not with an intent to misrepresent, which he would not venture to impute, at least with the effect of obfuscating the intelligence of his hearers. It may fairly, therefore, be said that there is no true Representation of the interests of India in the House of Commons; but he must confess that, with all admiration for the general sentiments expressed by Mr. Pritchard, he did not think practicable the remedy which had been suggested in the opening address. He must confess he could look with no confidence upon the scheme proposed. He could not at

present realize as practicable the idea of the various populations and nations of India uniting to send representatives to take part in the discussions of Parliament. The thing might be hoped for in the distant future, perhaps, but there was no reasonable prospect of its realization yet. But what is to be looked for, what is reasonably within our expectations, is that by some means or other there may be more English gentlemen introduced into the House of Commons who are acquainted with the affairs of India, who sympathize with its wants, and who can expose and put down any attempt at injustice. (Hear.) How that is to be accomplished is a difficult question; still it is feasible, and may be wrought out by persevering and judicious effort. Until then it is to be feared that little change can be expected; questions like the Tonk affair will be introduced after they have passed through the official manipulation of successive offices, and then met by official retorts that it is highly dangerous and impolitic to interfere with the Government of India and its decisions; that an attempt to inquire into the *facts* of the high Indian officials is a course which will seriously endanger the stability of the Empire; and that a mere legislative assembly, knowing nothing whatever about the matter, should not endeavour to limit the powers or criticise the decisions of the Government of India—with other high-sounding arguments, against which ordinary intellects are afraid to contend. But to meet this special and specious line of opposition what is the remedy? It is that there should be greater publicity in the Indian Council itself; that the window of the dark chamber of the Secretary of State for India should be thrown open to the invigorating breezes of public opinion; that the autocratic power which that high official wields (whether in concurrence with or opposition to his attendant satellites no one knows) should be subjected to the criticism of the outside world; that the consultations which take place should be open, in order that the public, and more especially Members of Parliament, may hear, and form their opinions upon the great questions discussed; and that the individual opinions of each of the separate members of that Council, by whose consultations the Secretary of State for India professes to guide his policy, should be known to the people at large. This is an amendment to which attention might be drawn, in order that a little of the omnipotent force of public opinion may be brought to bear upon the secret conclave which now directs in darkness and mystery the government of 150 millions of people. If this change were brought about we should become aware upon what grounds and upon what principles these great questions are decided—decisions which too often are the ruin of individuals and the source of disaffection in the country. This change, he believed, might be accomplished without difficulty, and, when accom-

plished, the next step would be that the natives of India should see to their interests by aiding in the election of able and competent gentlemen in England who could conscientiously, faithfully, and intelligently represent their interests in the House of Commons, and not submit to be brow-beaten by the dogmatic ignorance and stilted platitudes of interested officialism. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. BRIGGS, in rising to thank Mr. Prichard for his excellent paper, could not, however, concur in all its points. He (Mr. B.) said the question was as to the best mode of developing the agricultural wealth of India, and securing the means of distribution thereof, which, in his opinion, was much in the same state now as when the labours of the East India Association commenced; in short, a way had not yet been found out "*how to bell the cat*." Sufficient evidence has been given to the public by the reports of Mr. Login and others on their experimental farms, that the soil and climate of India can be made to produce five-fold its present production per acre, at a fraction additional expense; but, say the witnesses, "The stubbornness with which the natives run in the "groove they and their fathers have been accustomed to, in the face of "all reason, and in spite of any pressure that can be brought to bear upon them, is almost incredible." He (Mr. Briggs) said this, in the nature of things, must be so under present circumstances; it was so in England before we got free trade in corn, and it is so in Ireland yet, in a great degree, and will remain so until we have the malt-tax repealed; and it will remain so in India until that time when the Government has found out a sound policy of alienating the waste lands from the possession of the wild beast to that of the people. Mr. Login says in his last report, "The people "are inclined to suspect that under all these efforts at superior cultivation "lies a design to enhance the land rent." This is another illustration proving that the nature of things is stronger than man's good intentions. As to the evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry, after carefully reading the reports in the *Asiatic*, he was forcibly struck with the likeness it presented to the following anecdote: An old lady suspects her neighbour (the farmer) of diluting or adulterating her milk with water, inasmuch as it did not give the cream she expected to her cup of tea. She makes up her mind to complain to the farmer, with a view to mend matters. But the farmer indignantly repudiated the charge, and told the old lady to bring her pitcher, and watch the milkers milk the cow direct into it; to which, of course, she assented as being a very fair test. On the approach of milking time she accordingly made her appearance with her pitcher, and stood by the milkers whilst the operation was performed—her quart pitcher being half-filled from one cow, and then taken to the next for completion, in

order that she could not complain that one cow's milk might be weaker in cream than another. Having, as she thought, seen fair play so far, she takes her milk home, and treats it as usual to get her cream from it, expecting much more cream, of course; but, to her disgust, she found that, after charging the farmer with watering her milk, it did not produce more cream than before; hereupon she was glad to get off by making an apology to the farmer, in whom she said she had now perfect confidence. The farmer (whether consciously or unconsciously) had, however, gained the confidence of this complaining old lady surreptitiously, as he or his milker did not tell her that the first pint of milk drawn from the cows, as a rule, is considerably weaker in cream-producing power than what follows after into the pail; hence what she had seen drawn direct from the cow would not produce more cream than what she had been in the habit of receiving, though the latter *may* have been watered after all. Now for the interpretation of the parable. The people of England in general, and the East India Association in particular, are dissatisfied with the infinitesimal nature of their transactions with 200 millions of their Indian fellow-subjects, and therefore make complaint. These are (taken as a body) supposed to be the complaining old lady; the Parliamentary Committee is supposed to be the farmer; the administrators of India (or Indian officials) who are summoned before the Committee are supposed to be milkers; and the Indian tax-payers are the poor cows, who are drained to the last drop, under the painful circumstances of an insufficiency of food. As regards Representation of India in Parliament I would suggest that, when England is not misrepresented, India will then be represented in the British Parliament.

Mr. S. DICKINSON, M.P., observed that it had always appeared to him to be a great difficulty in discussing questions relating to India, unless they were all agreed as to the great purpose we have in view in the government of India. We—a Western race—are governing India as conquerors, and under our rule, we have not only a nation, but a number of peoples. It is utterly impossible that we can govern them upon Oriental notions, because we cannot make ourselves familiar and habituated to those notions, and no governing power can succeed unless it has faith in its own governing principles. On the other hand, we cannot govern India in accordance with Western notions without in some degree introducing the principle of Representative Government. Is it our purpose to make India a permanent dependency of ours, or to make it a sort of partner with ourselves? He took it that neither of these was our object; but our purpose in governing India is to make it a nationality of its own, to build into one solid bond what is now com-

posed of many heterogeneous materials, to fuse the varieties of creed and of race into a great nation; and when that is done we can no longer be the rulers of India, and, except to educate them to rule themselves, we have no right there: hence it is our true mission. Turning to the animadversions of a previous speaker upon the indifference and ignorance of the House of Commons in regard to Indian affairs, the hon. Member remarked that perhaps some plea of justification might be found in the fact that the Indian business of the House of Commons is exceedingly unreal; the Indian Budget being merely introduced as a sort of peg upon which to hang an Indian debate on things in general. In allusion to a remark of a former speaker, the hon. Member added that the expenditure of India is not wholly confined to India. To give instances which at once occurred to him, he would point to the fact that not less than 50,000*l.* had been expended in the erection of the Cooper's-hill College, for the education of engineers for India—done without the sanction of Parliament, but upon the mere *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of State for India. The second item is the sum of 40,000*l.*, which has been expended in the erection of a lunatic asylum for the old officers and soldiers of the Indian army. (A laugh.) He mentioned these sums, not that he had the slightest intention of asserting that the expenditure was improper, but to show that practically the House of Commons has no control whatever over the expenditure in regard to India. Those who suggest and urge that India should be accorded the principle of Parliamentary Representation, according to English ideas, should look at the past history of this country, and find a lesson from it. The Councils in India are composed of the nominees of the Government, and they in no degree represent the people; nor have they the slightest controlling power in respect to the expenditure or the raising of the revenues. But there are large towns in India where the beginnings of the principle of Municipal Representation may be found; and it struck him that the representative element might be introduced in the Councils of India, by calling upon the large towns to send their representatives, as was done in this country in the early days of Parliamentary Representation. These might take part in the legislation and government of the country, and by that means the Representative principle would be, by degrees, inculcated. He confessed he did not see how any other method could be brought into play; and he thought it should not be forgotten that it was yet very early times to talk about a Parliament for India, for a Parliament was an institution of slow growth, and was the outcome of the development of freedom and intelligence. Still the time was coming when something of the Representative principle might be conceded; but it should be *in* India for India, because it would be better for that country, and because the

House of Commons could afford no time for the consideration of Indian subjects in such a manner as became their importance.

Mr. J. T. ZORN said that as one whose political status was that of a naturalized British Indian subject, he might be permitted to offer a few brief remarks. His political rights were simply those of a native of India; and although not *de facto* himself a native, he, like many other foreigners who went to India and became naturalized, had become greatly interested in the progress and welfare of the country and its people. He could speak personally of the increasing power and number of the European residents in India, who had become largely assimilated to the natives of the country—indeed, so much as to share their grievances. These foreigners missed the forms of Parliamentary Government, and lamented the absence of the Representative principle quite as much as the natives themselves. Alluding to the remarks which had been made respecting the impartial administration of English law, the speaker observed that he himself had a long fight for his rights as a British subject, and yet he could own to British justice in the end; for the Acts of Parliament were clear enough to give all due protection to those who knew how to claim them. He warned the Government of India that unless they were strictly fair and impartial in their dealings with the people their position was a perilous one; and that among the emigrants from France, Italy, and Russia there were not wanting those willing to foment any ill feeling which might arise. He stated this because he knew for a fact that the natives came to foreigners and brought forward propositions which they would hesitate to advance to an Englishman, and which are traitorous to the Government. Three years prior to the Sepoy Mutiny he was himself asked if he could procure French officers to aid in a rising; and still more recently propositions of a similar character are known to have been made. With reference to Mr. Eastwick's remarks about America, he (Mr. Zorn) happened to be employed in 1860 in an office in New York where the first merchants of that city, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, arranged business operations with the East Indies, and on the occasion of the visit then paid by the Heir Apparent to the British throne to that continent, some of those leaders of opinion in the United States owned to a desire to see the States reunited with the old dominion under one monarch in the best interests of both countries. It was a significant fact, that after the war with the Southern States a paper could be started in New York under the very title the *Imperialist*, advocating quite openly the re-establishment of monarchy! The best security of the Government is in the good-will and contentment of the people; and that this may be obtained, and that a loyal sentiment will be the result,

is shown by the universal rejoicings which took place at the news of the recovery of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. In conclusion, he reminded the meeting that in introducing the Representative principle to the Hindoos, they were bringing no new thing, but one which had been in operation from very ancient times among the natives of India. (Great applause.)

Mr. PRICHARD, in reply to the remarks which had been made, said he could only express his regret to learn that Mr. Eastwick had seen reason to alter his mind with respect to the Representative principle for India.

Mr. EASTWICK, M.P., interposing, observed that he had not altered his mind. He was in favour of the principle being adapted to Indian requirements; but in his remarks he had endeavoured to state some of the principal objections which could be raised. (Hear.)

Mr. PRICHARD expressed his pleasure that such was the case, and in reference to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Stroud (Mr. Dickinson), pointed out that he had started on the assumption that all were agreed that the maintenance of the union of India and England was desirable. He had thence proceeded to show how that union would be liable to be broken, and how he thought it could be permanently maintained. As regards many other remarks which had been made in the course of the discussion, he begged the meeting to recollect that he had advanced it as a fundamental proposition, that by the principles of the British Constitution no portion of the British Empire, no people whose rights and whose character as British subjects had once been recognized should be taxed unless they had a voice in the imposition of those taxes, and in the manner in which they were spent. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, said that taxation without representation was virtual slavery; and yet the people of India were taxed without even the pretence of asking their consent. The excuses made on behalf of the House of Commons were invalid, because so long as the Legislature assumes the responsibility cast upon it since the promulgation of the Queen's Proclamation, it cannot shake off the charge of the interests of the people of India. If, as has been said, the House of Commons has no time, and even if it had the time, does not understand, Indian affairs, let the fact be admitted openly, and let other arrangements be made. But so long as the House of Commons does not attempt to get rid of that responsibility it is answerable for the misgovernment or injustice which may be perpetuated in India. As for Representation *in* India, he believed it would come if the propositions he had mooted were not carried into effect; for one of the two proposals is certain to come into operation, and will come much more quickly, per-

haps, than some of us expect. If it is our object merely to educate the people of India to govern themselves, and then to sever connection with India, well and good ; let it be so. But he did not believe it to be the wish, either of the people of England or India, to be separated ; although, unless the people of India are admitted to some sort of rational Representation in the House of Commons, it is not unlikely they will assume a right to conduct their own Government and have an Assembly of their own—and a violent disruption between the two countries will probably follow immediately. With the hope of avoiding that fatal termination, he laid down the propositions he had advanced on the present occasion. In reference to the remarks which had been made in support of the gradual extension of Representative Government, by means of the Councils in India and by the municipal institutions of the towns, he thought the suggestion showed very little practical acquaintance with the subject. The Councils of Calcutta and Bombay are a perfect farce of representation.

Mr. DICKINSON, M.P.: That is precisely what I said.

Mr. PRICHARD remarked that the honourable Member said the Representative principle was growing by means of those institutions ; but those who had any personal knowledge of them knew them to be worse than a sham as far as the growth of self-government is concerned. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN then, in brief and appropriate terms, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Prichard for his admirable address, and this having been agreed to, it was, on the motion of Major BELL, seconded by Mr. W. CHESSEX, resolved to adjourn the discussion to another sitting on Tuesday, the 9th April, at 8 p.m., at the Rooms of the Society of Arts, 18 and 19, John-street, Adelphi, Strand.

Mr. EASTWICK, M.P., in moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, said that no man was better known in this country or in India, who had taken a deeper or more active and useful interest in the welfare of the people of India. And now—speaking in the presence of many Indian gentlemen, he thought it a fitting opportunity to acknowledge the great and lasting benefit which Mr. Dickinson had effected by his labours.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER seconded the motion, which was carried by acclamation ; and

The CHAIRMAN having briefly expressed his acknowledgment of the compliment, a vote of thanks was, on the motion of Mr. SAUNDERS, accorded to the Council of the Society of Arts, for the use of their Rooms.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1872.

Resumed Discussion on Paper read by I. T. Prichard, Esq., on "The Representation of India in Parliament."

JOHN DICKINSON, Esq. (Chairman of the late Indian Reform Society), IN THE CHAIR.

• In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN intimated that the Hon. Secretary had received some letters relating to the discussion, which he would now read.

DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN then read the following letters from Sir Vincent Eyre and Mr. James Wilson (*Indian Daily News*):—

"April 9.

"My dear Sir,—In case I should be unable to attend the discussion this evening on Mr. Prichard's paper, it may be interesting to the meeting to learn (if not already informed) that, under the present system of government in France, the French possessions in India are duly represented in the National Assembly at Versailles by a gentleman with whom I have the pleasure to be intimately acquainted, and whose father was for many years the Governor-General at Pondicherry. His name is the Count Debassayes de Richemont; and he was elected unanimously by the popular vote in India, partly out of regard to his father's memory, and partly because of his own eminent fitness for the post. The election of such a man by the Indian subjects of France reflects honour on their hearts and intelligence, and may be considered a most encouraging fact in favour of Mr. Prichard's proposal. I therefore think it worthy of particular mention, for there can be no doubt that the presence in the French Assembly of a really able and well-informed representative, such as I have described, must be highly satisfactory to the native Indian subjects of France, as a guarantee that their rights and prejudices will be properly made known and protected.

"In our own Parliament most momentous questions are annually discussed affecting the interests and happiness of the many millions whom we govern in India; and there can be little doubt that were properly qualified delegates, enjoying the confidence of the people from each seat of government, to throw their weight and intelligence into such discussions, the result would be more satisfactory to those whose interests are at stake than under the present hap-hazard system.

"I should have been glad to express these opinions at the las

meeting had I been present, but perhaps it is not too late to offer them now for your consideration for what they may be worth.—Yours very truly,

“VINCENT EYRE, K.C.S.I.

“To Kazi Shahabudin, Esq.”

“Sir,—The subject of Mr. Prichard’s paper is one that has often forced itself upon the attention of members of the Indian press; and while the need of some sort of Representation of India is generally admitted, the plans suggested have only shown how crude and immature has been the thought upon it. Mr. Prichard does not approve of Representation *in* India, and would prefer to treat that country as an integral part of the Empire, making, in fact, an enlargement of what is usually considered the United Kingdom of Great Britain. However desirable this may be, I have never been able to see how it is to be accomplished. There is often felt in India something more than a sentimental grievance that the nomination of Viceroy should be dependent on the exigencies of party in England, and the appointment be made accordingly, instead of having special reference to the requirements of India. In much the same way, so long as we have in England government by party, the House of Commons would never consent—at least that is my view of the matter—to place the fate of the Empire in the hands of a few representatives of a distant dependency.

“There are sometimes party divisions which come so close in numbers that the fate of a ministry, involving the policy of the nation for many years, may depend upon half a dozen votes. In these cases the ‘honourable Members for India,’ if true to their trust, might exercise an influence which would decide the fate, not of India, but of England. It seems to me that England would never, and ought not to permit this.

“If India is to have members in the House of Commons they must be full members, and they could never be permitted an influence in a party government which would have the effect above intimated. To admit members to the House, and not to allow them to exercise the duties of membership, as must be the case if they were deprived of votes, would be to make Representation a farce. Representation *in* India would have some evils, but they would not be of such import as direct Representation in the House of Commons.

“To a very great extent I agree with the views of Mr. William Taylor as expressed at the last meeting. It will be long before there can be representative institutions in India, as we understand them, whether local or general. Not the least difficulty would be to find representative men.

“There certainly does require, either in the councils in India or

England, a better representation of the non-official element. From that source alone can anything approximating to public opinion be brought to bear upon legislation and administration in India; and it is systematically ignored, as regards India, both there and in England. The growth of a healthy public opinion in India is thus rendered impossible, and opinion and feeling can find vent chiefly in 'murders, treasons, stratagems, 'and crimes,' of which there is a most unhealthy crop.

"Mr. Tayler is right in his opinion that 'by some means there 'should be more English gentlemen introduced into the House of 'Commons who are acquainted with the affairs of India, who sympathise with its wants, and who can expose and put down any attempt at 'injustice.'

"This doubtless is very desirable, but how is it to be done? As a rule the retired officials of India are not the men to represent non-official India. They may not have the means to enter Parliament; and, moreover, retired Indians have not generally the qualifications which would render them acceptable representatives of English constituencies. There are doubtless retired Indian merchants or planters who have money to push their way, if they cared to spend it in that direction. But with rare exceptions they have been so fully occupied in making money, that they have never given that attention to public questions which would qualify them to fulfil the duties of representatives of either England or India. Moreover, with very few exceptions, if men could be found to enter the House of Commons as suggested, the probability is that they would be often carried away by the stronger stream of English politics, unless they were of a stronger order of mind than is commonly available.

"It is not much to the credit of honourable members of either House of Parliament that the process of official 'obfuscation' on Indian matters is so very easy, as represented by Mr. Tayler, and which I have no reason to think that he has exaggerated. There might be more light thrown into, as well as upon, the doings of the Indian Council, with advantage to the English Parliament and the people of India. The tenure of office by the members is too long; and the Council ought to be periodically weeded of the members who have been absent from India no inconsiderable fraction of a century.

"Yours truly,

"JAMES WILSON, *Indian Daily News*.

"Sheffield, April 8, 1872."

The CHAIRMAN then called upon Major Evans Bell to renew the discussion.

Major EVANS BELL said there might be some difference of opinion as regards the practicability of Mr. Prichard's plan for the Representation

of India in the Imperial Parliament, but there could be none as to the reality and urgency of the crying want which he had brought before them with his usual ability. The crying want which Mr. Prichard had clearly shown was that of some independent unofficial check on the assessment of taxation in India, and on the expenditure of the revenues both in India and in England. There ought certainly to be some means by which, beyond the circle of the official departments, some sense of real responsibility could be imposed upon the Indian Executive. At present there is no real responsibility whatever; and yet, of all governments in the world, the government of India is one that demands that responsibility should be imposed upon it, because it is, as has frequently been explained, really a professional government; and those who have not had the opportunity of inquiring into its structure can really only form an adequate notion of what it is by trying to imagine what our own Government would be if the Home Secretary were always selected from the ranks of the Civil Service, if a chief clerk of the Treasury or a Commissioner of Customs were made Chancellor of the Exchequer, if the Foreign Secretary were always an old diplomatist, if the First Lord of the Admiralty were always a naval officer, and all the other great offices of State were similarly filled up by promotions from the public service. It is easy to understand how small a chance there would be that the expenditure of the country would ever be reduced; for the head of a department invariably considers that, however much the expense of other offices may be open to question, and whatever reductions should be made in other departments, such considerations cannot and ought not to affect that which is under his own control. In fact every trained expert, who has gone through his apprenticeship in any trade or profession, believes "there is nothing like leather." (Hear, hear.) That this is true of India may be clearly shown by a review of the finances of the country under the guidance of a very distinguished man—Lord Lawrence—whom we must all respect, and who rose, with honour, through every grade of the Bengal Civil Service to the viceregal chair of India. Let us take the four official years that were entirely under the control of Lord Lawrence, and compare them with the four years immediately preceding his installation in office. Lord Canning and Lord Elgin, from the official year ending in April, 1860, to the year ending April 30, 1864, reduced the expenditure in India from 44,622,269*l.* to 38,087,772*l.*, the revenue having risen by more than a million a year, from 39,705,822*l.* to 44,613,032*l.* During Lord Lawrence's time, from the year ending April 30, 1865, to that ending 31st March, 1869, the revenue rose, still by nearly a million a year, from 45,652,897*l.* to 49,262,691*l.*—an increase of 3,609,794*l.*; and the expenditure in India was raised from 39,452,220*l.*

to 43,225,589*l.*—an increase of 3,773,360*l.* Lord Lawrence found the debt of India in 1865 at 98,477,555*l.*, and left it on the 31st March, 1869, at 102,866,189*l.*, the annual interest having risen from 4,482,385*l.* to 5,025,014*l.* Yet, in Lord Lawrence's time, the force of European troops was reduced from the number at which it stood in 1864, 74,961, to 64,858 in 1869. Under Lord Elgin's government the expenditure, as just stated, had been reduced to 38,087,772*l.* in 1864, although he had to pay 10,000 more European soldiers than Lord Lawrence had in 1869. Under Lord Elgin the expenditure was brought down to 38,087,772*l.*, though he had to keep up 74,000 British troops. Under Lord Lawrence, though the British troops were brought down to 64,000, the expenditure mounted up to 43,225,587*l.*—only a million less than what it was under Lord Canning in 1860, when he had to provide for an army of 92,866 Europeans and 213,002 Natives—305,868 men in all—instead of 184,858, as the number was in 1869. In spite of the reduction of 120,000 men—28,000 British troops, 18,000 Native cavalry, 4,000 Native artillery, and 70,000 Native infantry, representing an annual expense of at least three millions—the expenditure having fallen by six millions from 1860 to 1864, under the statesmanlike rule of Lords Canning and Elgin, was raised six millions from 1864 to 1869 under the professional management of Lord Lawrence. And this, remember, is Indian expenditure only. Let the Home Government bear all the credit or discredit of the Home expenditure—let Lord Lawrence and his apologists, if they please, attribute the deficit of those four years entirely to the exactions of the Secretary of State—still the fact remains that, with a rising income and a reduced military charge, he managed to augment enormously the Indian expenditure. The great work of Lord Mayo's viceroyalty, prematurely and terribly cut short, was that of gradually repairing the mischief that had been done in the previous five years; and every one must have observed the candour and boldness displayed by that distinguished and lamented statesman in grappling with the great financial difficulties with which he had to contend. We are only now beginning to hear of his personal efforts in this direction. In fact, under his administration, we come to the period of honest, though imperfect, endeavours on the part of the Indian Executive to reduce the expenditure—a course in which they have been baffled and thwarted by the Home Government; for there is no doubt that Lord Mayo recommended large reductions in the police and army, which were not permitted by the Home Government. Moreover, during the same period, while Lord Mayo was endeavouring to reduce the expenditure in India, we have had concocted and carried into effect by the Secretary of State in England that most cruel and wicked project, the Civil Engineering College—a

scheme which is merely a new piece of machinery for preventing the Natives of India from attaining eminence in the profession of civil engineering, for excluding them from the higher ranks of that department in India, and for finding a number of good appointments at their expense, and through their exclusion, for English gentlemen. Certainly the Home Government has not acted as a check on the expenditure of the Indian Executive, but rather as a stimulus to extravagance and a hindrance to economy. Where, then, are we to look for an unofficial check? Mr. Prichard has argued with great force that we should endeavour to influence public opinion in such a manner as to obtain a representation of India in the Imperial Parliament; but he himself sees the great difficulty there would be in persuading the House of Commons to pass an Act introducing a really adequate representation of India; and he has even said that he would be contented with nominal representation by as few as five members. He (Major Bell) could not think there would be much advantage by such an introduction of Indian members into Parliament, for the Indian members, being elected merely for India, would not have that weight in the House of Commons which they ought to have; or at least certainly not the weight possessed by a member who had obtained the confidence and the suffrages of a British constituency. Members for India in the House of Commons might be received with all outward forms of respect, and be patiently heard when they spoke on Indian topics; but yet they would occupy a very equivocal position, and would probably be looked upon almost as political Pariahs, and with regard to British and Imperial questions as mere intruders. They would certainly not be allowed to decide Indian questions by themselves, not even to the limited extent that is conceded by custom to Scotch members; and, on the other hand, they would not be sufficiently strong to create any very heightened interest in Indian affairs, or to break down and destroy that direct, though, as he (Major Bell) thought, very shallow and superficial interest in the expenditure of Indian revenue in England which English constituencies may now be supposed to feel. And yet one of the matters that certainly ought to be fought out by the Natives of India who have the political capacity to understand such things, is the large military expenditure of India in England, in addition to the entire expense of supporting the British Army in India, and of transporting troops both ways, which is paid as a sort of tribute (for that is what it really is) to Great Britain. Call it tribute or not, as you please; "a rose by any other name would smell as sweet"—and tribute costs as much and galls as much, whatever you call it—and the sum of 13*l.* 10*s.* a year for every soldier in England, over and above their expenses in India and their passage-money, is really a tribute, or, if you prefer the term, a subsidy to the

British Government. It would, then, be an entirely hopeless thing to think of persuading the House of Commons by the persuasion or by the votes of five, or ten, or twenty members for India, to introduce a more equitable settlement of financial affairs between England and India. Indian representatives would not exercise any great weight in the counsels of the House. They would not be allowed the time to battle persistently for those details of expenditure and administration which must be fairly fought out before economy can be ensured. Those who seek to give India the representative principle ought to work for the enlargement of the Legislative and Executive Councils in India, in such a manner as to secure that there shall be a substantial check upon expenditure on the spot, and at the right moment. And, further, there ought to be such an opening of the Indian Council in London as shall secure publicity to its proceedings, and a restoration of the great advantage which was offered by the old Court of Proprietors of the East India Company's *régime*—a place where, although there certainly was little direct power, the rulers of India could be faced and questioned with regard to their acts. The Indian Council should be able to discuss incessantly, and with due publicity, Indian questions which now occupy only two or three days in the House of Commons during a Session of Parliament. Only in this way can any real good be effected; but whatever is done it is certain that no words can express too strongly the importance of what is to be done being done quickly, for a critical time is evidently approaching. The finances of India have long been fed by an unnatural and extraordinary stimulus. The ever-growing Home expenditure has been provided for in advance by the capital of Indian railways; and the expenditure of eighty millions of that capital in India has undoubtedly added much to the prosperity of the population of the country. But that expenditure will not go on for ever; and when it ceases—and the financial results of the railways are felt only in the steady drain of guaranteed interest to England—there will come an unpleasant and depressing reaction, for which we ought to be prepared. Stimulants are wonderful remedial agents, but they do not produce bone and muscle. India has been living upon them for many years, and what is now wanted is a little mild constitutional diet, without which a state of disease will be produced, which may lead before long to inflammation, and perhaps to dangerous convulsions. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. A. MACFIE, M.P., said he hoped that no friends from India would be surprised at the comparative smallness of this meeting. It was in some degree due to the general tranquillity, and was a proof of the feeling of confidence that is entertained in the practical government of our Indian Empire. But beyond these considerations they should not

forget that the Press in effect brings the absent to these meetings, and that remarks which are made on these occasions reach, by means of the press, large and diverse virtual auditors interested in the affairs of India. He felt very considerable interest in the subject of the Representation of India, but he quite agreed with what had been said in regard to the inadequacy of the remedy proposed, and the inappropriateness of resorting to Representation in the British Parliament. He agreed with what Major Bell had said in respect to the Indian Council as regards its meetings being made public. It seemed to him that a most illogical procedure was involved in the present constitution of the Indian Council by the payment of members. He was aware that a strong feeling existed in favour of this principle, but he was strongly of opinion that it was a mistake. The best men were not obtained by this means, but, on the contrary, it became a matter of patronage and pay, and the selection was thereby limited where it ought to be free and untrammelled. It seemed to him to be most absurd to exclude members of the Indian Council from Parliament. They were excluded because they were paid. Their absence from the House was the root of many of the evils complained of. Major Bell had said that under the old system of government the Court of Proprietors afforded a field where open questioning and free ventilation of Indian topics could be secured; that had now been stifled, and a most pernicious closeness had been introduced in its place, whose evils had been heightened by the exclusion from Parliament of the very men who were best acquainted with and largely responsible for Indian affairs. He would therefore suggest that two things should be sought. First, an opening out of the Council to the representatives of the Press, and secondly, a revocation of the restriction which prevents members of the Indian Council from seeking seats in Parliament. In connection with that reform he would go to another. He believed public opinion was ripening to the belief that the circumstances of the time demanded a confederation of the Empire. There was a strong disposition everywhere, in the public Press, among philosophers, and among practical people, for uniting the British Empire as a great confederation; then we should have India in its proper position, and the House of Commons would be left to discharge its proper duty towards the United Kingdom; new life would be infused into the whole empire, and India would largely participate in the benefits which would accrue. He would venture to say with regard to Indians that they would be glad and proud their country should be no longer in a position of mere dependency, but recognised in fact, as it has long been in law, as an integral part of the empire. Confederation would accomplish the end they seek, and would bring with it a willingness to dis-

charge the duties of citizenship which would be involved. India would pay her share of the expenses of the government of the Empire, and would take her fair portion of every burden that legitimately belonged to her in the grandest state the world ever saw—which may God give them grace to institute!—a confederated British Empire. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. JONES remarked that he had listened with much satisfaction to the speakers who had preceded him, and he fully agreed with those who had pointed out the difficulties which stood in the way of having a Representation of India in Parliament, and he did so because he was certain the interests of England and India were not identical. The City of London won India, and the reason it did so was that it might make money out of it. The City of London in the same way had done a good for India, and for the same reason, because it was profitable to do so. But apart from this the people of England have no sympathies with the people of India, nor would they for a moment allow their policy to be frustrated in pursuit of any supposed advantage to the people of India. The history of England in connexion with India proved that the tendency of public opinion ran entirely in the direction to which he referred, and not to any sentimental philanthropy, having for its object specially the benefit of the people of India. Even the change of system which was brought about subsequent to the Indian Mutiny, if examined, proved to be only transference of patronage from the East India Company to the Crown. If, then, the interests of the two countries presented so evident a want of identity, how could it be expected that benefit would result from the partial Representation of India in the British House of Commons? The policy of self-interest had influenced England to destroy the manufacturing industry of India, and reduce it to an agricultural country, the latter being as notoriously in a condition of unprogressiveness as the former was of advancing enlightenment and civilisation. When protective tariffs were part of our financial system, England forbade the admission of the korahs of India, lest they should injure our manufactures. When a tariff was imposed on India for the necessities of the State, our Manchester men ran to the Secretary of State to remonstrate against a measure which favoured the Bombay cotton-mills, and hindered the sale of the Lancashire cottons. The coal question in India, yet in embryo, is that which will determine the existence or fall of Lancashire. If India solves it favourably to herself her wealth will revolt against any further subjugation to Manchester influence. He would therefore urge that the people of India should be placed in such a position as would secure her against the evils of this collision of interest. We have no knowledge of the feelings of the people of India, and comparatively little knowledge of what they desire. Speaking generally, they are a poor

peasantry, crushed by taxation and rental, which (contrary to all their customs and habits of centuries) is enforced in cash rather than in kind, and they are ruled by men who have no sympathy with their condition. No such thing is known in India as is common in many parts of England in bad seasons; no remission of rents is permitted, for they are ruled by an officer whose duty it is to view the affairs from a practical, and not from a sentimental point of view. England, as has been observed by former speakers, cannot rule India properly, because she is not in sympathy with its people; and even if she had sympathy it would be abstract and philosophic rather than practical, and as such would be ineffectual. If we would keep India, the true policy is to look only to its material interests, the development of its industries, and the enlargement of its trade. As for religious education, the people of India don't believe in the Englishman. The government of India has provided a genteel occupation for upper and middle-class men, who, too proud to seek their livelihood in business, have been content to accept employment provided for them by violence and wrong. To pacify their consciences they have invented the theory that they have a holy mission—the moral and religious elevation of the people of India—but the natives are acute enough to detect the imposture, and reply: “Your tenure is tainted with blood. Go and sell all that thou hast and follow poverty.” The only practical way in which we can approach India is on the ground of mutual interest—in the aspect of helping them to make money that we may make more money out of them. Now who are the best men to teach them that? Evidently those who have a stake in the prosperity of India; the bond-holders, the shareholders of railways and stock. Let these have a voice in selecting a Council; let them assume the office hitherto filled by the ancient Court of Proprietors, and you will have an intelligent and sensible means of dealing with the public authorities of India. A remark fell from a previous speaker as explaining the paucity of attendance at the meeting. The honest explanation of it was that men did not come because they knew nothing of the subject under discussion, and felt no interest in it; but a court of proprietors constituted of those interested in the revenues of India would remedy this lack of interest, and would give ready ear to any proposal which would give security to them, or would increase the value of their stake in the country. As for the Press, which had been extolled as a substitute for the Representation of India in Parliament, it could not at least be anything but a poor and meagre substitute for the ancient and valuable right of public conference and deliberation; and, moreover, as it stood, anybody could buy the Press. At the recent debate upon the claims of the princes of India he made a speech which was listened to with

attention and satisfaction, and yet not a word of it appeared in print, not even in the *Asiatic*. (Laughter.) He had left off looking at newspapers—they were rubbish. (Laughter.) As showing the good which might be effected by the re-establishment of a court of proprietors, he would repeat what he said at the meeting to which he referred, that an humble individual like himself was able to raise his voice in defence of a rajah and did secure his reinstatement on his throne; he could and did stand up single-handed—knowing nobody, caring for nobody, and speaking to nobody—in order to plead the cause of the deposed Rajah of Chokum-Putty. (Laughter.)

Mr. R. H. ELLIOT said he might be allowed to say that at the meeting referred to by Mr. Jones, the reason why the audience laughed at the story was that they did not believe that a rajah of so odd a name had a real existence; but in justice to Mr. Jones it was fair to say that there was one present who could give evidence as to the reality of the existence of the Rajah of Chokum-Putty.

Mr. WEBSTER said that the amusement at the meeting referred to was no doubt due to the cause explained by Mr. Elliot, but it so happened that he (Mr. Webster) was judge of the district in which the zemindary of Chokum-Putty is situated; and Mr. Jones in all probability was perfectly correct in what he said of the Rajah, or more properly large zemindar, of Chokum-Putty. The name of Chokum-Putty is as familiar in Southern India as the name of any metropolitan district is to the Londoner. He (the speaker) had known the Rajah of Chokum-Putty intimately for a considerable time.

Mr. JONES observed that he was glad to receive this corroborative statement.

Mr. ELLIOT said if they wanted to know how to govern India properly they should go to the greatest orator in England, Mr. John Bright, or read the great speeches which he made in the House of Commons in 1859. Mr. Bright then told the people of England—what is perfectly true now—that we must have no such thing as an Indian Empire; and that you must break it up into at least five great dependencies, which shall be bounded by the differences of language and geographical position, and that for each of these there should be a separate governor, assisted by a council selected from the Europeans and natives in that territory. In fact Mr. Bright would appear to have urged the adoption of a system similar to that now in operation in Ceylon. Looking but that very day through some of Lord Macaulay's speeches, he observed that in his speech of the 10th July, 1833, that distinguished statesman admitted that the business of the House of Commons was so overwhelming t'at attention could not be given to Indian affairs.

If that was the case then, how much more true is it now ; moreover, another remark made by Lord Macaulay was eminently true, and that was that you might as well attempt to govern England in Calcutta, as attempt to govern India in this country. (Hear, hear.)

The DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN, Acting Hon. Secretary, said that as a native of India he might perhaps be permitted to make a few remarks on the subject under discussion. Mr. Macfie, in alluding to the fact that the members of the Indian Council are prohibited from sitting in the House of Commons, appeared to incline to the opinion that the removal of this disqualification would afford a satisfactory solution to the question of Indian Representation in Parliament. But the hon. Member had not seen the difficulty which would then present itself, in the circumstance that the members of the Indian Council could not be subordinates of the Secretary of State and at the same time members of Parliament to watch over and check his administration—a combination of functions which in itself was impossible, and which could result in no benefit. Mr. Macfie had also suggested a confederation of the whole British Empire, in which India would be included, and this led to the subject of Mr. Prichard's paper—viz., the Representation of India in the British Parliament. He would not follow the example of one or two of the preceding speakers by deviating from the subject—(hear)—but would confine himself entirely to the question whether it would be desirable to have a few representatives from India in the House of Commons. The subject of Representation must force itself upon the attention of the public, not merely because the circumstances which had given rise to the existing form of government do not now exist, but because the people are receiving an education which is fast saturating the popular mind with liberal notions regarding government. They study history and philosophy, and cannot help admiring the practical working of the existing representative governments ; and yet the form of their own government is a despotic form, and, although it is a mild and parental despotism, yet that does not afford an excuse for its existence. As the subject of representative form of government in India will thus sooner or later be forced upon attention, by the very education which the English are giving to the people of India, it is wise that that subject should be considered side by side with the subject of educating the people ; otherwise silent discontent will grow, and it may find a vent in violence. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Prichard bases his proposal to have a few Indian representatives in Parliament upon the necessity of keeping the Indian Empire permanently in union with Great Britain ; and this, in point of fact, is most desirable. It is not at all clear how that object would be gained

by having four or five representatives in Parliament for India. But really there is no reason for the supposition that if India had no such Representation in the British Parliament the present relations between the two countries would cease; and for this simple reason, that those relations are based on mutual or reciprocal desire—England being necessary to India, and India being wanted by England. (Hear, hear.) In spite of all that has been said of the disaffection in India—of Wahabees, of Kookas, and others—he was firmly convinced that if their opinions were sought, the people of India—Hindoos and Mohammedans—would vote for the continuance of the British rule. The natives of India know what anarchy existed in the days of their fathers, how sect was arrayed against sect, and province against province; how taxes were collected, and justice dealt out. They are now under a Government by which, notwithstanding heavy taxation and certain evils incidental to a foreign and dominant rule, they have for a considerable period enjoyed peace and security and an improved administration of justice. So that, with few exceptions, the people would vote for the continuance of the British rule in India. Such was his certain knowledge of the feeling of the masses. (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, England, as he had before remarked, did not wish the connection between herself and India to be severed. So long as the relations existing between the two countries are based upon such grounds as these, there is no danger of a change in the ruling power in India. (Hear, hear.) These being the facts, the only question which those who take an interest in India have to consider is the best form of government for India. For himself he was of opinion that India should be governed to a large extent *in* India, and that it is impossible to govern India efficiently at a distance of thousands of miles from London—at least not in detail. (Hear, hear.) The endeavour to have a few representatives from India in the House of Commons, without any representative Government in India itself, would be something like to attempt to weave cloth from raw cotton without the intermediate process of spinning it into yarn. They must begin at the beginning, and that beginning must be in India; whether by means of the enlargement of the Legislative Councils or by other means, there could be no question that in India the first movement should be made. From such a beginning we might, in course of time, have really representative bodies, like the legislatures of the American states. Then, and not till then, would India be in a position to send representatives elected by these local legislatures to the Imperial Parliament. But just now, to have some four or five members from different parts of India would not remove the evils incidental to the present mode

of governing that country. First of all a difficulty would be felt in finding natives competent to represent India in Parliament. All those who are called educated natives would not represent the wants, the feelings, and may be the prejudices of the masses. You might as well yoke a camel and an ox to a cart as class the few educated with the millions of the rest of the population. Besides, the educated natives do not belong to the wealthy classes. Education has hitherto been sought mainly by the middle, and even by the lower classes, rather as a means of gaining a livelihood than for its own sake. This pecuniary difficulty would certainly be a serious one. There is yet another argument against Mr. Prichard's proposal. Parliamentary government in this country is a party government. The ministry cannot exist without the support of a majority. Experience teaches us that there are not many party men who would vote against their own party on an Indian question which does not affect them or their constituencies. Under these circumstances, what check could five or six natives of India be expected to constitute on the acts of a Government existing by party influence? Kazi Shahabudin reiterated that a movement towards introducing something like a representative form of government in India itself was necessary before we thought of its representation in Parliament here.

SYED MAHMOOD (Christ's College, Cambridge) said that of the many questions affecting India none was of greater importance than the question whether the natives should be allowed a Representation in the government of their country. It was a question which engaged the attention of every intelligent native in India who ever gave a thought to the government of his country; and he always feels the principle of Representation to be one of the greatest necessities which entitle any nation to be called civilized. But the difficulty of application of the principle is much enhanced in India on account of the mixture and diversity of the people, the varying creeds and difference of race, as well as the contrast in respect to education. Nevertheless, there are many thousands in India who are quite as well able to understand the questions affecting their own country — the financial and public works questions for instance — as an Englishman understands the affairs of his own country. (Hear, hear.) And he would go further, and say that they were not without people possessing talent sufficient to qualify them for a seat in Parliament. (Hear.) In England the qualification for the possession of the franchise was so low that almost every shopkeeper had a right to vote, and there were thousands in India who possessed all the qualifications which characterized an English shopkeeper. The objection that the people of India must not enjoy the vote because they are

not sufficiently educated for it—however true it may be of the agricultural classes—ought not to be applied to the exclusion of the persons he had described. Although able officers govern India, yet they can never learn the real feelings of the people themselves. We know that many able Englishmen have gone to India, and some of them have tried to study the wants, the feelings, and the prejudices of the people, doing the best they could for their advancement; and yet by far the majority of Englishmen, because they are not natives of India, but officers representing the interests of the governing classes, and not of the people, have failed in learning the sentiments of the people, or in gaining their affection. Hundreds of thousands of Englishmen have dwelt in long series of years in India, and yet how few of them really know the people so much as to carry on a correspondence with any of them after their return to this country! In the large majority of cases, although they had lived in India so long, yet they very rarely or hardly ever make intimate friends among the natives. How, then, can a governing class like this know or understand what India wants? This, then, was the great reason why India should be represented. There is sufficient ability among the natives to understand their own interests. In fact, there was a qualified constituency who were as able to decide upon questions of policy or government as any other nation where parliamentary principles were in operation. And sincerely believing, as he did, that so long as India is a part of the British Empire, and keeps its union with it, she is safe from internal anarchy and from foreign attack, and always in a position to receive valuable aid from the seat of learning and enlightenment in the West, he must still urge that the claim for a share in the Representation was a just and equitable claim. There were some people who believed that the mission of England to India is to make her run alone; but he for one did not believe in this policy, but was convinced that so long as England deserves the name of being a first-rate power, and as long as England maintains the supremacy of the seas, it must possess India, and cannot do without it. Yet the question whether India should be represented in the British Parliament is not so important as the question whether India should be represented in India itself; although it should not be forgotten that the application of the Representative principle in India would be no reason why India should not be represented in the British Parliament. The question really at issue was whether the proclamation made in 1858 was intended to be carried out in honesty and good faith, and whether it really meant to give to the natives the full privileges of British subjects. If it was, then decidedly England ought to have thought long ago of what responsibility she had undertaken, and have given to the natives of India the rights of British

subjects. The people of India at present are represented nowhere. In the Legislative Council there are a few noblemen—nominees of the officials, and probably the worst representatives that could be found to represent India. As a class, the native councillors vote with the majority in all questions; and drawn, as these men are, from the higher and richest classes, who have not availed themselves of the advantages of the new system of education, they do not know India's real wants. But whether justly or unjustly grounded they go in terror and fear of the Government officers, and if they have any opinions of their own they do not express them. In the Legislative Council the native members, therefore, become the mere tools of the European element, and you do not find a single voice speaking for the people of India. You find in the Indian Council able Englishmen, who speak about the interests of India, yet they understand too often very little of the real domestic wants of the people—for instance, in the Marriage Bill, where the feelings and prejudices of the common people have been either ignored or disregarded. The fact is that the old feeling has descended to the present generation, and they retain and act upon the belief that, like their fathers, they hold India by the power of the sword—and that alone. But he would deny that India is held by the sword; it is the moral power of England, the tolerable impartiality of her laws, the justice of their administration, and the tolerance of her rule which holds India. (Hear, hear.) The Mohammedans of India, as a body, give their sincere good wishes to the English rule, because they know that if the English Government were withdrawn religious struggles would ensue as they did in the Middle Ages, and peace and happiness would be no more. But admitting all this—admitting that England has done more for India than any of the past rulers of the country—still she has not done all that was in her power to do. He was far from nurturing any bad feeling towards England, but at the same time he could not but say that any person who looks with an impartial eye at the present administration of India by the English people will find many reasons for astonishment. England, one might say, has ruled India hitherto for selfish reasons; and its endeavours to develop the country have originated in the same feeling, as being essential to the maintenance of her rule. As for instance, if the railways, which now extend over India, have facilitated commerce, they have also given England the means by which troops can be speedily conveyed from one spot to another, and Englishmen can come home easier. (Hear.) But now a time has come when England is asked to yield to India a privilege which she herself has long enjoyed and has staunchly defended—the principle of Representation; and until that is granted no native of India can feel himself to be really a citizen of the British Empire.

Sir HARRY VERNEY said the statements which had been made by the Indian gentleman who spoke last, regarding the class from whom the native members of the Legislative Council in the different presidencies were selected, was of great importance. It was said that these—generally of the highest rank in India—often did not know the English language, and therefore could not join in the discussions of the Council, or judge of the arguments brought forward; while they very rarely possess the instruction and information which would enable them to represent the wants of the people of India. If this was true it was a matter which ought to be brought before the Indian authorities in this country, and some change ought certainly to be made in this important respect; for when we summon natives in India to assist us in governing we ought to select the men who are most cognisant of the wants and necessities of our Indian fellow-subjects. When allusion was made to the want of intimacy and confidence between Englishmen and the natives of India, he could not help recollecting a conversation he had with Sir Herbert Edwardes some years since upon this point. He once asked Sir Herbert whether he had any friends in India whom he could implicitly trust. Sir Herbert replied, "I had quite as many in the North-West Provinces as at home. I know many natives whom I would trust in every point of view, and who have my entire confidence as much as any of my friends in England." Another remark which had been made he could not help alluding to—viz., the statement that Englishmen go to India merely to make money. He would reply that a large proportion of English officials went to India with a far higher ambition, and a sincere desire to aid in furthering the welfare of the people. Almost all, indeed, of our principal statesmen may be said to have gone there animated with the hope of promoting the benefit of India, and to have thought of this object far more than of making their own fortunes, or even of benefiting their own countrymen. (Hear, hear.) They have considered it to be the duty of the English people to assist the natives in acquiring true science, and, as far as possible, by example, and without undue interference in their religious beliefs, to impress upon them the blessings of Christianity. As regards the educational system now in vogue in India, he thought it was of the utmost importance that more physical science should be introduced into the schools. An acquaintance with the writings of Chaucer and of Shakespeare would not contribute so much to the advancement of India as a knowledge of cosmogony, geography, and natural science. The latter would go far to break down the superstition which was the great obstacle to progress everywhere, and would prepare the native mind for the reception of all truth. In conclusion the speaker observed that in

the history of the world there was no instance of such a talent being committed to a nation as the possession of India by this country, and that we are bound, by the highest considerations of our duty to God and to our fellow subjects, to improve it to the very utmost of our power.

Sir DONALD M'LEOD (late Governor of the North-West Provinces and the Punjab) said he had listened with very great interest to the discussion which had taken place, and especially to the two addresses given by native gentlemen, which were characterized by much sound sense and good feeling. As regards the Representation of India in Parliament, he would have no objection to offer to it; on the contrary, he believed it would be a graceful concession. But if we look to this as something which would operate as a panacea for all the evils of which India complains, we should be very much mistaken. (Hear, hear.) He was one of those who believed that the happiness and loyalty and prosperity of a people depend much more upon the management of their minor social affairs than on the settlement of great questions of policy or government, or upon the establishment of institutions which determine such questions, though fully admitting the immense importance of these, and the necessity for that determination. The vital principle of a nation's happiness depends much more upon the regulation of their every-day affairs than upon anything else; and he trusted that Englishmen, who enjoyed the privilege of having a share in the management of their own public affairs, would respond to the request that the natives of India should also be allowed to manage their own affairs. It is true, as has often been remarked, that there are in India large classes not prepared for the application of the principle of Representation; but this could certainly not apply to all, or even to the greater portion. For if we go down to the foundation of society in India—especially among the agricultural population of India—we find them formed into little communities, based on the Representative principle, very much like our own hundreds in the time of Alfred. These village communities were simple republics, managing their own internal affairs; and though conqueror after conqueror swept over India, they made little or no impression upon these village governments, or if they did, it was only to find them restored after a time. But under the British rule these village systems have most unwisely been obliterated, as our regulations, while imposing many responsibilities on the heads of villages, have entrusted them with no authority; and practically no independent power has been left to them, even to appoint the village watchman, without first ascertaining the sentiments of the local Government functionary. In applying Representative institutions to India, therefore, we should, in his

opinion, begin at the foundation, and re-erect the village systems to which the natives for ages were accustomed; and at the same time the municipal system now in operation in some of the towns might be enlarged and developed. In this manner the natives would have opportunities of consulting upon the affairs of their own villages and towns; and probably none could judge of these matters so well as they, for Englishmen in India are always in a state of pupillage as regards a knowledge of the inner life of the native community. He would repeat that if we wish to train the people of India—as he trusted all Englishmen did—to the proper management of their own affairs, a beginning must be made in the re-establishment of the village communities, which afford a machinery admirably adapted for the purpose, and by the application of an extended municipal system to towns. (Hear, hear.) From thence might easily follow meetings similar to our own county and provincial meetings, and representative bodies resembling the *Conseils-Généraux* of France. In these assemblies it is important that natives alone—for the present, at least—should be appointed, for Englishmen rarely work in accord with the natives; and even the best of the natives are very apt to yield their own opinions, when thus associated, to those of the Englishman. If they were formed in their own committees they would be secured from all interference, and would apply their own knowledge to the subject under deliberation; and thus by training the people to the use of these institutions, a generation or two will bring about a vast change in the people of India, and along with it will come a great change in the feelings of Englishmen towards India. Many Englishmen treat the natives with want of respect, because they see an absence of manliness and self-respect in many of them; but if the natives are given an opportunity of exercising their own judgment upon their own affairs, their character will be greatly altered, and they will be in a position to insist upon the respect to which they may be entitled. As to the Legislative Councils, it was true that the addition of native members has been to a large extent ineffective, and most of the native members have been practically nonentities. Very few of them have been able to understand the language or the discussions, and practically they have been useless. There have been rare exceptions to this rule—they are very few—of native members who have gained the respect and attention of their colleagues by their independence and intelligence. There is no doubt, however, that there are natives of the highest capacity who could give valuable aid, if the opportunity and the position were open to them, and our best way would be to commence at the bottom, and work upwards synthetically, as it were; and by first giving the natives the opportunity of ruling their social affairs they will soon develop a capacity for partici-

pation in the management of the greater affairs of the State. In this relation he had, therefore, viewed with great interest the beginnings of municipalities in Upper India, because he believed they were the initiatory movements which would result in an immense change in India. In conclusion, the speaker expressed his regret that a former speaker (Major Bell) had deemed it necessary to import into the discussion a personal element, in his review of the financial policy of Lord Lawrence. At the present moment he was without figures to meet the statements which were advanced by Major Bell, nor did he desire to enter upon the question; but he begged those present to remember that there was another side of the question, and that Lord Lawrence at all events deserved the highest credit for the conscientious discharge of his duty—(hear, hear)—and is generally regarded in India as one of the most economical as well as honest of rulers.

Mr. TAYLER wished to make a personal explanation. The gentleman who had lately charmed the meeting with his eloquence (Mr. Jones) had, while animadverting on the uselessness of the Press, complained that the *Asiatic*, the only paper which contained a report of the late meeting to hear Mr. Chesson's paper on the "Princes of India," did not contain a copy of his (Mr. Jones's) speech. As Mr. Tayler had some connexion with the *Asiatic*, he thought it right to explain, for the satisfaction of Mr. Jones, that the report inserted in that paper was sent to the Editor's office, and printed just as it was received. The only way in which he could account for the omission of Mr. Jones's speech was this. When Mr. Jones descanted on the case of the Rajah of Chokum-Putty, the name "Chokum-Putty" was greeted with shouts of laughter, and in all probability the reporters considered the story a hoax and the Rajah a myth, and so omitted the speech. Now, however, that the reality of Chokum-Putty is established, he doubted not that the *Asiatic* would take an early opportunity of doing justice to Mr. Jones by announcing to its readers that the Rajah of Chokum-Putty is a real, existing being, and that he was restored to his throne by Mr. Jones; though he (Mr. Tayler) regretted to add, on the authority of Mr. Webster, a Madras civilian who is acquainted with him, the ambiguous Rajah is not remarkable for the worth or respectability of his character.

The CHAIRMAN said he should be glad to address a few words to the meeting before calling on Mr. Prichard to close the discussion. He hoped there would be no mistake in India about the judgment passed here on the proposal which Mr. Prichard had placed before them as "a panacea for almost all the evils that India complains of." For himself he thought Mr. Prichard was partly misled by having a too favourable opinion of our Legislature. Without going so far as Mr.

Crawshaw, who said, the other night, that in Parliament "anything of importance was judged, not by its merits, but by party exigencies," he thought Members of Parliament found it a necessity of their position to consult party and local interests to a degree which rendered it impossible for them to pay due attention to India; and he had had many years' personal experience of the management of Indian questions in Parliament. The proposal to represent India by five or six Members in the House of Commons was contrary to all the results of our own experience. We had recently and solemnly decided that to give effectual representation every householder must have the suffrage, and every considerable body of the population must have a representative; and we found it necessary to have for ourselves 660 Members of the House of Commons for less than thirty millions of people, besides a House of nearly 500 Peers representing the aristocracy. But to give India, with 180 millions of British subjects, five or six Members in the House of Commons, would make each Indian Member nominally represent a larger population than that of the United Kingdom. How would Great Britain and Ireland like to be represented by one Member in a foreign Parliament 12,000 miles off? He did not think the people of India would be satisfied with such a plan. (Hear, hear.) He thought it would do them more harm than good. Five or six Indian Members coming over to the House of Commons might at first be regarded as a plaything, but if they attempted to interfere with the real business of the House, they would be made to feel painfully that they were considered of no importance. (Hear, hear.) He wished to avail himself of this opportunity of stating his own views about the government of India, as although he had been urged and persuaded to come forward again in the ranks of India Reformers, he had been most reluctant to do so for several reasons, one of which was, he was afraid his opinions would be very unpopular with his countrymen. But he thought it not honest for him to act with members of the East India Association, of course on the understanding that they were agreed in the main, though he was afraid there might be fundamental differences of principle between them. He therefore begged to be allowed to state his views, as if they could be tolerated by the Association he should be happy to continue to act with them; whereas, if they repudiated his opinions they ought not to be made in any way responsible for them. He must observe that his convictions were the result of twenty-two years' experience and study of the India question, during which period he had worked hard for many years in discussions on every part of the Indian administration, both in and out of Parliament; and his conclusion was that our government of India, though well meant by the people of this country, actually was what would be

considered in theory the most odious of all forms of Government, and so odious as only to be supported by military force—namely, a *domination of race over race*. We had certainly sent to India many excellent public servants, some who were as much esteemed and trusted by the natives as by their own countrymen, like the distinguished officer who had preceded him in the debate, Sir Donald M'Leod. (Hear, hear.) Still he believed that such a government as that of race over race could not, even with the best intentions at starting, be just or sympathetic towards the governed, but was liable to be the reverse, and could not fail to produce general discontent—and in many quarters most dangerous discontent. (Hear.) The remedy he proposed for this state of things, was, to let India be governed by the people of India. (Hear.) He admitted that such reform involved revolution; but it need not involve any violence, nor any force except that of our own Legislature; nor any suddenness, for God forbid that he should live to see our officers hustled out of the country! He proposed that the government should be transferred gradually, though within a definite time, to the hands of the natives; and for this purpose he wished to see the House of Commons insist upon having an annual return of the holders of all the higher appointments in the Indian Service, stating the nationality of the parties holding them, and requiring the substitution of natives for Englishmen in those offices, at a given rate every year—say at the rate of five per cent. per annum—so that in twenty years the administration of India would be transferred to the hands of the natives of that country, as completely as the colonial administration is now in the hands of the colonists. As it had been hinted in the discussion that any change of that sort meant separation, he must remind those who said so that they implied that our government existed in India against the will of the people, and was only supported by force; and if that were so he should not vote for its continuance. But we have evidence before us that this need not be the case. The virtual independence of the colonies does not involve separation; on the contrary, the connection being now based on a sense of mutual advantage, it has just the opposite effect. We began by trying to prevent self-government in America, and we were beaten. We then tried it in Canada, and though we were victorious in the field, within ten years we were obliged to give them everything they wanted at first. Now grown wiser, we allow self-government to our colonies, and we find them loyal and attached to the Empire, and without the least desire to separate from it. In the same way, if the natives of India were admitted to the Government of their own country, they would acknowledge the benefits of their connection with us; and their union with the British Empire, instead of being dissolved, would become

more firm than ever. (Hear.) The Chairman, in conclusion, added that he had only stated his views to-night in the briefest manner, but if they were thought worthy of consideration, he could adduce some facts and arguments in support of them on a future occasion.

Sir VINCENT EYRE, who arrived at a late stage of the proceedings, said that, being a member of the Council of the Association, and having been invited to attend, he, although but just returned from abroad, had thought it right to make an effort to do so. He had read Mr. Prichard's address with great interest, because it certainly broaches one of the most important questions which have been brought before the East India Association. The mode of Representation which Mr. Prichard proposes is as harmless and modest a one as could possibly be made. It simply recommends that five or six members should be sent to Parliament to represent the various chief seats of government in India. When we consider how very great a want has been felt by most Parliaments—not excepting even the present one—of men who are really conversant with the affairs of India, he could not help thinking there was much that invited consideration in Mr. Prichard's proposal. The most able men, who might otherwise be available in England for really making known the wants and feelings of the people of India, are absorbed into the Indian Council, and are thus excluded from Parliament. Mr. Prichard's proposal would supply a want often felt by the Parliament itself. Five or six special delegates representing the real opinions and requirements of the natives of India would be a most welcome and valuable addition to the House of Commons. In the late discussions on the motion of Sir Charles Wingfield, one could not help feeling that the opinions and interests of the people of India were very indifferently represented, and that even the actual facts of the case were not fairly and fully presented. Had there been some such special Representation as Mr. Prichard recommends, the errors which are made by well-meaning members of Parliament in utter ignorance would be promptly corrected; and therefore, as a matter of utility alone, the presence of well-qualified members from India would be extremely desirable. A few years ago it was his good fortune to be acquainted in Rome with a French nobleman, a man of good family and thoroughly conversant with European literature, and who took the greatest possible interest in Indian affairs, about which he displayed an unusual amount of information. Meeting this French nobleman in Switzerland last year, he learnt, to his great surprise, that he had lately been elected by the French subjects in India to represent them in the French Assembly. On the change of Government taking place in Paris, the old system of Representation which existed in the *régime* of the old National Assembly was revived, and the Count De-

bassayes de Richemont was the man whom the French subjects in India had selected to represent them. He was the son of an old and favourite Governor-General, who had ruled them for many years; but they still remembered his name with affection, and on the summons to send a representative to the Assembly they unanimously chose the son of their old Governor. There could be no doubt that the French possessions in India would be greatly benefited by having such a man to watch their interests; and his election showed that the natives of India were quite capable of making a wise selection. Such a fact is full of hope and promise to ourselves, supposing that we are induced to try the same experiment. In conclusion, Sir Vincent Eyre expressed his opinion that the East India Association was greatly indebted to Mr. Prichard for his able address.

Mr. PRICHARD said he would not at that late hour detain the meeting by a detailed review of the discussion, but would just notice one or two salient points. The opinion of the meeting was clearly not in favour of his propositions, but he was indebted to the last speaker (Sir Vincent Eyre) for the support he had accorded him. The evidence which Sir Vincent Eyre had given of the mode in which the Representative system was carried out in Pondicherry was valuable, as showing the truth of what he (Mr. Prichard) had asserted, that there were no real difficulties in the way of practically carrying out his scheme. Without venturing to follow the remarks of all the speakers, he might be permitted to observe, as regarded the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Leith (Mr. Macfie), that although his idea upon the confederation of the empire were a grand conception, and, as such, well worthy of the attention of any statesman, yet its consideration was not the subject before the present meeting. He (Mr. Prichard) would not follow the different speakers into the almost limitless field in which they had wandered, in ventilating each his own notions on the best mode of governing India. This was a perfectly inexhaustible subject of discussion, but it was not one legitimately raised by his address. What he proposed to the Association to consider was the Representation of India in Parliament. Now objections had been raised to the scheme on the score of the paucity of the representatives proposed to be introduced into the House of Commons—three or four members being wholly insufficient to represent interests of such magnitude; but those who listened to his address on the former occasion would remember that he pointed out that his proposition was only put forward as an initiatory proceeding. He had urged that, as a tentative measure, a member from each of the chief Presidency cities would serve for the present. It would be sufficient to show whether the experiment would be likely to

succeed or not; and he believed that three or four efficient and capable men in the House representing India would be of very great use in assisting the House to form correct opinions upon Indian topics; and as for the difficulty of finding competent men to represent India, there could be no scarcity of properly qualified men, considering the wide field they had in which they might make their selection. He thought the weight they would have in an Indian debate would be very great; and he did not believe they would be made to feel that they were in a false position, nor would they be put down; on the contrary, he believed they would be listened to with respect, and their suggestions would meet with a respectful and courteous consideration. (Hear.) In reference to the remarks which had been made respecting the municipalities of India, he would say that those practically acquainted with the subject were aware that the application of the Representative principle in the legislative assemblies and the municipal committees of the Mofussil was a delusion and a sham. There were two distinct views with regard to the Indian Question, each of which had found its representatives in the course of the discussion—one of these views being that held by the Chairman, whose opinion was worthy of all respect. That opinion was in effect that England's duty to India was limited to educating that country to self-government and then surrendering it. Mr. Dickinson had intimated a readiness to lay his views at length before the Association; and he (Mr. Prichard) thought he might say, on behalf of the Association, that Mr. Dickenson would be listened to with much pleasure and attention—(hear, hear); but the views held by those whose opinions are represented by the Chairman were views which, if carried out, would inevitably end in the separation of the two countries. The other set of views were held by those who wish that the union between the two countries should be permanent and lasting. At the commencement of his address he had stated that his arguments were based on the assumption that all were agreed that it was desirable that the union between India and England should be maintained. He had endeavoured to show how, and how only, this end could be effected. Taking a wider view than had been taken there that evening, and looking further into the future than many of the speakers who had preceded him had done, he laid his proposition before them, whether, in view of the growth of public opinion now going on in India—whether in view of the rapid advance now being made by the people of India towards the recognition of their political rights, that advance being daily and hourly accelerated by the ever-increasing interchange of social and commercial relations between the people of the two countries—whether, in view of the growth of intelligence and activity of thought in political, social, and scientific

questions which characterized the present age, and was as strongly marked in the East as in the West—whether, in view of the experience which history afforded—they could come to any other conclusion than that the people of India would follow the course which had been taken by every civilized people in the world, and when they had recognized their political rights, proceed to claim them? It was just a century ago since the temperate protests of a loyal people against what they considered to be unjust and unwise taxation were turned into angry denunciation, and finally open war, by the insulting and contemptuous language in which those protests were thrown back into the teeth of the petitioners; and they had recently heard in a like manner the temperate protests of a great people against unjust and unfair taxation stigmatized by a Minister of the Crown in the House of Commons, in the most insulting terms, as the shrieking and howling of a nation of slaves. The refusal on the part of England to recognise, as applicable to a portion of the empire—because that portion of the empire was separated from the rest by the waters of an ocean—the fundamental principle of the British Constitution that there should be no taxation without representation, was the cause of the separation of America. History repeats itself, and England had to consider whether a similar refusal to recognise that principle in the case of India might not lead to a separation of that country from Great Britain. He had shown them that the House of Commons did virtually administer the government of India in the revenue, the political and executive departments; he had shown them that the Representative principle was one familiarized to the people of India by historical association, by early tradition and social usage—that there were no practical difficulties in the way of representatives being sent from India, and, indeed, the instance afforded by Sir Vincent Eyre had shown that this was so. There had been, he conceived, no vital objection raised to the scheme he had propounded; and if he had—unfortunately, perhaps—failed to succeed in convincing those members of the East India Association who had listened to him as to the soundness of his views, he nevertheless trusted that the discussion upon the subject would not be altogether barren of results. At any rate, the more such questions as these were discussed the better for the people of India; for it showed that there were those who were alive to their interests, and were doing their best to forward them. (Cheers.)

On the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. William Tayler, a vote of thanks was unanimously awarded to Mr. Prichard for his able address; and the proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks, passed on the motion of Mr. Elliott, to the Society of Arts, for allowing the use of their hall for the purposes of the meeting.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, APRIL 23, 1872.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, late Commissioner of Patan,
IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Dr. HYDE CLARKE.

*On the Progressive Capabilities of the Natives of India in reference to
Political and Industrial Development.*

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said the name of Dr. Hyde Clarke was so well known to all those connected with the Society whose rooms they had now the honour to meet in, as well as to the members of the East India Association, not only for his learning and ability, but for the great interest he has shown in all matters connected with India, that he was quite sure that the form of introducing the Lecturer was perfectly unnecessary. He wished, however, to add that, having had the opportunity of glancing over the lecture which was about to be delivered, it appeared to him that Dr. Clarke was about to place before the consideration of the meeting a subject of extreme interest—too learned; he feared, to be fairly analyzed or considered in an assembly like the present. At the same time he was happy to see that towards the conclusion the paper embraced many questions of real practical importance in connection with the better administration of India—topics of vital interest, which would afford room for ample discussion.

Dr. HYDE CLARKE then read the following paper:—

In India we find every kind of savagery, and the germs of the development of every form of civilization. Its soil shows us the tombs of what is dead in the past, and at the same time every form and instrument of living progress. Megalithic monuments, of which the beginning is unknown there as here, are to be seen, and yet these great stones are still piled up by the Khasias. Temples carved out within the rocky caves, however old, are only the renewings of shrines where countless generations had before worshipped; temples which cannot now be classified or identified, nameless cities lost in the jungle, cities buried under the remains of the cities of centuries, all bear witness to the furthest antiquity. Our best mode of reaching them is by the steamboat or the railway, and the telegraph ministers to us in travelling. We may have guides, in natives of India, most accomplished in all its oldest and classical learning, rivalling in ours the students of the West. It is the consideration how India has dealt with her own civilization in the past, and how she is able to deal with the civilization of England in this day,

which affects a problem of deep moment to the welfare of our empire, the treatment of which justly deserves our attention. We exhibit and we offer to the observation of the people of India all the mechanical and industrial results which are the accumulations of human progress down to this day. We offer at the same time the example of the most highly-advanced political institutions which the world has yet seen applied on a great scale.

In these islands, and in the new England of America, in the cradles of other empires in Australia and Africa, we show how a large amount of individual freedom can be combined with the competent working of state organization. What twenty millions of people are doing in this way has no parallel in Russia, in Germany, or in France. The whole body of the Greek Republics in their proudest spirit would scarcely furnish forth a section of the settlements of our race. The Roman Commonwealth had lost the freedom of her institutions before any considerable population had been subjected to her government. Here, too, is a condition of our own relations which most materially affects us in our relations with India. We have acquired a great empire mainly by the sword, and it might be a matter of empty vanity to retain a subject empire. That is what Rome did. Even when her sons had ceased to be citizens, and had become subjects, they could still regard Rome as the mistress of countries and of peoples: of the distant separate world of Britain; of Gaul; of Spain, disputed with the Carthaginians of Africa, which had been their seat of power; of Egypt, time-honoured home of learning and of arts; of Greece and of Sicily; of that other Greece in Asia; of all those regions great and small which had pretended to empire. Macedon, Lydia, Syria, Babylon, Media, Armenia, and Persia, each an imperial name, was lost under the name of Rome. This was glory—as some think it still. There are people who will fight for such glory and bathe the world in blood. We have our empire in India, and have not to stretch our ambition further. In the nature of things that empire will be extended on the demand of the people of India for their security in the domination of the wild tribes threatening them, but wars of ambition are at an end. We have paid a price for this empire of India, but the question arises to our minds, Will we pay more for it? Shall we be Romans, and pay that price which Rome and Romans paid? We can reckon it up, and know what it was. Roman blood was a part of it; but not only those Romans thus suffered who adventured in the field. Every Roman who stopped at home paid his share of the price, in the loss of individual freedom, in national decay, and in final utter ruin.

There is no worse trade than that of slave-holding, whether it be

the euthralment of an empire or the proprietorship of a few field slaves. Whether it be a woman who depends on the labour of the latter, or whether it be a nation which holds nations as bondsmen, the masters suffer with the slaves, and more than the slaves. He who is born a slave, or has always been in thralldom, can no more suffer the loss of freedom; but he who is free can suffer the loss of freedom in whole or in part.

Perhaps nothing so much helped towards the internal ruin and degradation of Spain in modern times as her vicerealties of the Western Indies. A number of good and energetic men of Spain went forth to the conquered empires of Mexico and Peru. Some were viceroys and civilians, some generals and soldiers, some merchants, some planters, lawyers, and jurists. Many of these returned—some with gold; others remained, and left children to fill public offices, or to live on their sugar and coffee plantations. All these men, during their long absence, ceased to act the part of simple citizens, and those who went out as youths could not practise what they had yet to learn. Many had become indifferent to the petty and personal details of local politics and administration, and in losing the details they had no longer the power of applying principles. Thus, while they added to the wealth of the old country, they did not consolidate its moral strength, but contributed to weaken it. A nation cannot stand still, but must go on. Stillness is that pause before the downward decline. Apathy and indifference in the body politic are positive maladies. Those who returned of the second and third generations born in the Indies, and the wives of first-comers, were found still more listless and personally wanting in energy. Thus Spain got money, and lost real and true men. Many of the generals and governors, accustomed, of necessity, to wield despotic power, were little fitted to yield to the prescriptions of a different social condition, and were found ever ready, in a moment of political trial, to support a reference to force as a means of repressing civil difficulties.

Thus did Spain fall! When America was discovered for her, she had the same free institutions as England; a generation ago her whole framework of society was debilitated, and it is only since the loss of the Indies that she is beginning to recover, and has the promise of resuming her seat among the nations. True it is, in our own case, our danger is not so great; for in what are called our colonies—whether English, Netherlandish, French, or Spanish, whether they speak our language or retain their own—English free institutions prevail. Thus we are not exactly in the same position as the old Spaniards; but it is always dangerous for a free people to tamper with arbitrary government, and the extent of damage and prejudice is not to be assigned within lines, quantities,

and dimensions. The only security of a free people can be in dealing with free people; and therefore, with regard to India, our own political necessities force us to seek to make her natives free. This is our only means of safety for our own liberties; and more particularly at a time when means of access have been so much increased, and when our own citizens are poured in greater numbers into India. The rough contact of a free and servile population is not safe. The latter does not gain notions of true liberty, but rather of insubordination, and the former is apt to forget habitual obedience to law and to established institutions when no longer under the restraint of his own national public opinion.

We have, by common agreement, set to ourselves the task of carrying out the political education of India; but this is a difficult and responsible task, not to be accomplished with safety on a sudden, and which, with the best devised measures, requires the slow and safe operation of time. Time, in morals and in physics, is that element which is most to be regarded; for increased force will seldom compensate for the steady and certain influence of smaller force over longer periods of time. We cannot make India a present of highly developed institutions, and then leave her to herself. Not to speak of others, we have the recent melancholy example of the Ionian Islands. Those islands we had brought to a great pitch of order and prosperity, and in consigning them to their own national aspirations, within a short apprenticeship they have already retrograded to more than olden abasement. Rich and poor are impoverished; the well-organized police is replaced by men little better than the brigands who have arisen in the ruin of society; and the roads, which had cost hundreds of thousands of pounds, are already perishing. If, then, we are usefully to regenerate India for her own benefit and ours, we need know if her populations have the capacity for accepting progress. We need search the history of the past, and learn something of the relations of India with civilization. In India we find not only varied populations, but populations allied either by blood or language to those of other regions of the world. Indeed, India includes specimens of many of the races of mankind. Blood, however, is but one element in the classification of mankind in relation to its social capacity; still one not to be disregarded. Culture is, however, also a very important element, and this is more dependent on language than is usually supposed.

Let us take the case of the English-speaking negroes of Africa or America. In blood they differ but little from the negroes of the interior of Africa, and, as compared with the standard of England or New England, they are lamentably backward. The possession of the English language is, however, an instrument of culture which can scarcely be

too highly valued, even in the present condition of the negro populations. They derive, generally, as little benefit from the literature of Shakespeare and Milton as those who have not access to it. The benefit to be derived is in the future. There is, however, an immediate benefit in the possession of a language in a higher condition for communicating thought than the languages of Western Africa, arrested in their development. Thought may be exercised within the minds of the deaf and dumb; it is often exercised in a high degree by dogs; but the accumulation of the individual thoughts of man and man can only be effected by language. It is this possession of language which gives a superiority to man, and yet there are some men of lower intellectual power than many animals. No community of animals has, however, from want of language, been able to accumulate the results of its experience. There is no community of men in India, however much debased, which does not, in its language, enjoy the inheritance—diminished and partial as it may be—of countless ages of human experience. The mode of communicating intelligence is likewise of great importance. As words become not only the external, but the internal instruments for recording thoughts, so, many thoughts are the representatives of words, rather than of things. Words, as the signs of things, are less exact than the things themselves; but it is possible, by the adoption and employment of words, greatly to increase the volume and aggregate of thoughts in possession of individuals and communities. It is precisely on this account that the relative character of language is of great importance in still further accelerating and intensifying the mental operation.

Languages can be classified according to their mode of development. There are many so complicated that speaking becomes a labour, and the languages of many of the lower savages are so complicated as to suggest wonder at their structure, and so cumbrous and unwieldy as to abridge the intercourse of those who use them. Under such circumstances each small tribe still further limits the area of correspondence by separation of dialect. Just as the railway quickens communication as compared with the bullock cart, so does an advanced language act in comparison with one less developed. This we may see exemplified even in a great empire like the Chinese. To a high degree language there has been so far cultivated that it serves apparently all social requirements; and yet, whether as regards the written language or the spoken language, it is undoubtedly a cause mainly contributing towards the stationary condition of China. Mechanical ingenuity provides for the language being written and for its being printed, and now the telegraph has been adapted to it; but undoubtedly there would be a freer flow of thought in China if the people spoke one of the Indo-European languages—that is, a language in an

advanced state. Language may therefore be taken into account in regarding the capabilities of India, instead of merely limiting ourselves to characteristics of race. There are, however, in India many low types of race, and these serve to illustrate the antiquity of its history, and its gradual advance in the career of civilization. Language does not determine race, but it is an index of the epoch of the prevalence of a particular race. The earliest evidence we have at present in this respect is that furnished by the remnants of Thug dialect, and of the Savara, or language of the Sours. The connexion of words with the speech of the Kamchatkans and Koriaks testifies to a former social connexion. We know what the Kamchatkans are in this day, and what they must have been in all ages, and such the natives of Hindostan would have been were they limited to such a population.

Of another remote epoch, but still later, we have relics on a larger scale, but yet so scattered that they are nothing but fragments of a race which once covered the earth. These representatives are found in the languages of the Rodiyas of Ceylon, the Gadaba of Central India, and the Kajunah of High Asia. The Gadaba stands out alone among the languages of India in Hunter's "Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages." Its affinities are, however, very wide. On the west they embrace the Agaws, the Falashas or Black Jews, and numerous savages of Abyssinia. In the Caucasus the language is spoken by the Avkhass or Abkhass (that is, Agaws—the Achæi of the ancients) in a country considered to be European. Continuing beyond Ceylon, these languages supply the speech of the Galela and other aboriginals conquered by the Malay races in the Indian Archipelago. Spreading through Siberia they are recognizable in California.

Now although this race once possessed the earth to an extent beyond the Roman Empire, they have never presented an instance of a well-organized state, but to this day consist of low tribes. Although their language is now restricted to one body in India, that of the Gadabas, yet their blood must be more widely diffused, and they very probably constitute large portions of populations speaking Tamil or Aryan languages. This gives us a suggestion, which we shall find will take consistency. The Agaw races which speak Agaw remain savages, while those which speak Tamil or Dravidian languages have exhibited progress. This great Dravidian group, to which the Tamil and so many other languages of the Dekkan adhere, undoubtedly belongs to one of the great epochs of civilization, and in this respect all the phenomena point to India as a centre of its operations. With this group we must connect the languages of most of the great kingdoms of West Africa—of Ashantee, Whydah, Dahomey. They are spoken in our West African pos-

sessions. The Basque, the language of the Iberians of Spain, also belongs to it. In Caucasia we have the Circassian. Egypt, always an ancient seat of civilization, bears in its language traces of Dravidian influence. In High Asia we find the Bralini. Turning to the East we recognise it in Japanese, Korean and Loochoo, and passing the Pacific we find it in languages of the Athabaskans and others of North America. With regard to this connexion of the Basque language, the evidence is peculiar. All the primary roots in Basque are not Dravidian, but then the remainder are supplied from the Kol, and the Kol languages are still mixed up with the Tamil languages. This shows that Basque branched off at a time when the Kol and Tamil languages were still *in situ*. If the Japanese and the Basque are both offshoots of the Dravidian, then they should show words alike, and this they do, completing the chain of proof. It is unnecessary to do more to show that the races employing the Dravidian languages have been susceptible of much culture, and that they have filled respectable positions in political history. We must, however, again take into account that the people speaking Dravidian in India are black or dark, and belong to older aboriginal stocks. Thus we see that Dravidian culture and the culture of Dravidian forms of thought have been able to effect the improvement of millions.

The fate of the next great race which governed India and the world—for in those ages an empire reached to the Atlantic on one side on the coasts of Africa, and on the other passed the Pacific Ocean and swayed in America—the fate of the next race was singular. Its language has been most abiding in some respects, and most fleeting in others. The Indian names revealed in the geography of the Greeks and the Romans are not Agaw, they are a little Dravidian and a little Sanskrit. They belong to another type. The names of the rivers and of the towns, many of them in use at this day, are of identically the same type as those that figure in the maps of ancient Persia, Caucasia, Armenia, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, Britain, Spain, and Mauritania. Thus over an area reaching from Further India to Britain one language was in use, which gave names to lands, islands, rivers, and towns, and which was, therefore, that of the dominant race, one of the mightiest of the earth, far beyond the Semitic, or even the Aryan, until these our own days have placed in the hands of the latter the empires of the world, giving to the English North America, and to the Spanish nations South America. This language we can find in a living form in South Caucasia and in the Turkish Empire, in the Georgian and its allies. In India we find it still used, whether in the river names of Ganges or of Indus, but there is no population speaking it. We have to go to our North-eastern borders, and there, within and without, among the tribes of Tibetan alliance, Bryan

Hodgson found the affinities of the Georgian. In the North and South of India there is hardly a trace of a language which must have been used more extensively than Sanskrit or Persian ever were. We are reduced to a few evidences of survival. The Zadudrus, a river of the Punjab, traversed by Alexander—which the Sanskritist fastens upon as a precious evidence of ancient use of Sanskrit, and signifying the hundred streams—we also find in the Tibeto-Caucasian form of Hesudrus, signifying the same thing. In Hindostanee in our present day we find a singular example of survival with the very word *As* or *Asi*. *Athasi* signifies 88 in Hindostanee, but the same word in Georgian signifies 800, and in both languages we have *Ath* and *Asi* as numerals, the relationship of which can be accounted for.

So empires perish to the degree that they are forgotten, that their names and history are lost, and thus are found again by the scholar, as the bones of the megatherium and mammoth are by the geologist. The fate of the material and of the immaterial is, however, far different. The immaterial still lives, though its name is lost. The civilization for which the Tibeto-Caucasian races laboured, and in which they were followed by the Semitic and the Aryan, still flourishes. Their impulse is felt on language, on philosophy, and on religion. If their empire has gone and their tongue has failed, much of the light population of the North and the North-west, supposed to be Aryan, must be Tibeto-Caucasian, as is the case likewise in Persia, Armenia, and Georgia; and it is thus that the diversity of the Western Aryans from the so-called Eastern Aryans is explained. Their religious ideas not only survive in that most ancient worship of the Parsees, but in many rites of the Brahminical and other sects; nor has their influence been unfelt among Christians, or the Sheeah sect of Mussulmans. Here, again, in the era spoken of India was the great centre whence civilization proceeded East and West, and so was it a great centre under the Aryan epoch, which, as we know, so greatly affected the West. We are, however, probably inclined to overrate what is called Aryan influence and its Sanskrit development, because we do not sufficiently know and estimate the stream of Tibeto-Caucasian and, perhaps, of Dravidian influence; for, after all, with many vicissitudes and with local failures, the career of civilization is continuous and accumulative.

In the Aryan epoch we undoubtedly reach a time when language, philosophy, poetry, and art had acquired a high development, and in all these India either led or shared. Thus the capacity of the populations of India has been made good up to this point. It is, however, to be observed that most of the populations referred to reached India from without, descending from High Asia as conquerors. At a later period

we shall find the influence had still been from without, but that India did not so much re-act on the outer world. The great Mussulman invasions undoubtedly rendered India this benefit, of bringing her in contact with the progressive nations of Western Asia, with the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks. The influence of the pure religion of Islam in awakening the religious mind of India has not, perhaps, been duly estimated, attention being directed to the atrocities or the glories of the conquerors of India. The study of the Arabic, of the Persian, and of the Turkish languages undoubtedly communicated vigorous refreshment to the mind of India, and arrested the stagnation of thought which affects a self-concentrated people. Such stagnation is found among the Chinese; and it is this awakening of thought from without which is creating an intellectual revolution among the Turks and the Japanese.

It is under such aspects we may consider the empire of the English; we may divest ourselves of all reference to the circumstances of conquest, and regard the fact and the possible consequences, and how these may be shaped. One lesson we have to make out is this, to pay little regard to the circumstance of the English being a race alien in blood. All races that have entered India, following the example of the dark Agaws, have been alien in blood, and perhaps before then, epoch after epoch, swarms of blacks, more or less ferocious, poured into the peninsula. What we have to regard is, first, whether the English are altogether alien in thought; and next, whether the natives of India are so unsusceptible of modifications of thought as to be incapable of accepting intellectual or political progress. As to the English, we know that they inherit the institutions of the same races as those of India. The civilization of England, in its bone and in its marrow, is the same as that of India, derived from the same races—in some cases from India itself. Thus there can be no incompatibility on our side, and the same evidence shows that there can be no incompatibility on the part of the natives of India. If we go into a country which has ever retained the institutions of savages—among Kamchatdales, for instance, or Agaws—then we shall witness incompatibility; but India has hitherto accepted the civilization of the world. Nor is it so difficult to find parallels of intellectual changes and revolutions among ourselves and our populations in the East. Just as they have experienced that great change concerned in conversion from Buddhism to Brahminism, so have we from our national worship of Woden (Woden) to Christianity, and from one form of Christianity to another.

The real history of India is one of progress, from the savagery, whose representatives linger in the hills, to the civilization gradually built up, and which now in many individual natives of India has reached the highest

standard of the West. All history teaches this, and we have only to accept, and to study, and to profit by the lesson. From this we get the firm hope that the task in which we are engaged for the development and advancement of India will be successful if rightly pursued, and will be advantageous to ourselves. If we are to discard from prime consideration the fact that we are an alien race, so must we discard the assumption that India is to be simply handed over to the natives of India, as having some inherent right, and as having a greater right than ourselves. In India, who are the true aborigines we know not; all are immigrants and aliens. The Englishman, who just lands, has a better title than the Pathan and the Arab. The English, as a nation, have as good a title as the Parsees, scarcely older than themselves, or the Persians, whose last invasion took place when we had factories in India. We begin to count centuries with the Mussulmans. Let us stand, therefore, on our own right to contribute to the advancement and progress of India, and to lead the way to this, as Providence has assigned to us the mission.

Having laid down the possibility of effecting this object, the mode of accomplishing it would require still more time and detail for its discussion. At all events, we may apply the teachings of history; neither, on the one hand, to leave India untouched, considering its institutions as something sacred and beyond reform, nor, on the other, to attempt to plant bodily our own institutions. The work, to be sound, must be slowly and judiciously carried out, accepting in the main the institutions of ages, and allowing the natives of India to accept, as they may be able to assimilate them, our own institutions. Above all, we must avoid being rash ourselves, or lending ourselves to the rash inspirations of those, in India or here, who would hand over everything at once to the natives of India, under constitutions they have never adopted, and the workings of which they do not understand. We must not unsettle, but build up; beginning rather at the bottom, with the municipal institutions—not attempting to cast all India into one mould, either of English workmanship or cosmopolitan workmanship, or of some one kind of Indian workmanship—but allowing free scope for the development of each nationality, and neglecting none. We assuredly gain nothing by making the Brahmin less Brahminical, the Mussulman less Mussulman, or by forcing Tamil-speaking people into Sanskrit forms. Let us promote each nationality, make the Brahmin a greater Sanskrit scholar, provide for the Mussulman the prosecution of his congenial studies in Arabic and Persian, but never neglect to give any part of the population that great help towards assimilating themselves to our own home populations, the possession of the English language, the key to our institutions and our own modes of thought, and one of the records and

safeguards of our liberties. In these islands we now have separate institutions of English law in England and Ireland, of Roman law in Scotland, of Norse law in the Isle of Man, of French law in Jersey, separately in Guernsey, separately in Alderney. What harm does it do to us here, if the Alderney people enjoy the like personal freedom in a Norman-French form and in their own accustomed way?

We do not give equality of rights more effectually by one stereotyped form of administration common to all India than we do by adapting the same uniform principles in accordance with the ideas, customs, and manners of each. Common institutions should rather follow this state of affairs than precede, and to the precise degree that the people require common institutions. Let us take example by our own experience in society. If in some parts we have attained uniformity, yet it is while allowing great diversity. Political arrangements are but a portion of the social system. We vary in every shape. We have one form for a Scotch kirk session, another for a parish vestry; one for a Quakers' meeting, one for a Jews' synagogue. We vary in each learned society, in every club, among the numerous sections of society. It is by the greater freedom of thought that we ensure more effectual action.

The conclusions which are submitted to the Association are that the experience of history justifies a common action of England and of India for their joint benefit, and that India gradually advancing in the path of progress, so shall we ourselves obtain a greater participation in the general advantage. The world's destiny is not to go back, but to go forward, and the hope of mankind is to profit by the universal welfare of all nations.

Mr. R. MULLICK, of Calcutta, said he was proud that the subject had been so admirably brought forward by the Lecturer, and, agreeing with the Chairman as to the magnitude of the subject and the complicated nature of the issues raised, he suggested that discussion should be reserved for a future meeting.

The CHAIRMAN hoped that, in spite of this proposal, some observations would be offered by the many gentlemen present who were qualified to do so, and who would be able to judge of the utility and fitness of the principles enunciated by the Lecturer.

Mr. PRICHARD said it was always desirable for some one to take the lead in a discussion, and he would do so now in order that valuable time should not be lost. With regard to the paper, he could only say that if there was one thing about it which he regretted, it was that it had been read to so small an audience; for he considered it one of the most interesting, most valuable, and most learned papers he had had the pleasure of listening to for a long period. The subject of the ancient

languages of India is one that opens up an almost limitless field of inquiry, which, as the Chairman had justly remarked, they could scarcely hope to follow up that evening to its conclusion. He might, perhaps, venture to remark that the Lecturer had touched upon one of the most curious and interesting features of very ancient history; and his paper raised the suggestion whether there might not be some connection between the ancient Non-Aryan languages of India, and the origin of those vast buildings remnants of which are to be traced from the ancient cradle of civilization—the plains of Assyria and Babylonia—eastward throughout the South of Asia and the continent of India—which have recently been found hidden in the jungles and overgrown with forests in Siam, and still further eastward in the forests of America. Whether he was right or not in suggesting such community of origin, the learned Lecturer would, perhaps, be able to say better than any one present; but it appeared to him probable that this ancient race or races, whoever they were, who seemed to have evinced such a marvellous aptitude for erecting enormous buildings, whose traces may still be seen over so large a part of Europe, Asia, and America, were the Non-Aryan races to which the Lecturer had referred, who founded the vast empires and spread over the world the languages known generally as the Non-Aryan. Coming more immediately to the question before the meeting—the present state of civilization in India—he thought the matter of language was one of the utmost moment. The Lecturer had shown the importance of selecting a particular language as a medium of education and the instrument by which the blessings of modern civilization and progress must be extended. He ventured to think that writers too often overlooked the very peculiar characteristics of the Urdu language. He could not easily find words to express his admiration for that language, although he was perfectly well aware that he took a most unpopular view of the subject, and that where one person spoke well of the Urdu there were a hundred who decried it as a mongrel tongue, and could find no expression too strong to use in depreciating it. It was curious to trace the history of Urdu. It would be quite unnecessary for him, addressing such an audience, to say anything about the origin of Urdu; but if they looked at its recent progress they would find that it has regularly kept pace with the advance of British territory. When he first went to India, now some four-and-twenty years ago, the Urdu language was unintelligible, generally speaking, north of Delhi. But gradually, as the British rule extended, Urdu has accompanied it, and now any one going into any of the large cities of the Punjab, and speaking Urdu, would be perfectly well understood. A mongrel tongue it might be, but it possessed a marvellous elasticity and power of expression, for this reason, that there might

be introduced into it any form of speech that might be required, either from the Sanskrit, the Persian, the Arabic, the Latin, the Portuguese, or the English, whose forms it readily adopted. Having these resources to draw upon, the Urdu language was an instrument well adapted for expressing almost any ideas; a language easily available for all branches of science, of metaphysics, of philosophy, of commerce, and of everyday life. He was fully alive to the immense benefits that might result from the introduction of the English language into India, and he was conscious of the great political advantages which accrued from it, because with the acquisition of the English language came English habits and modes of thought. But he thought they would be very wrong if they neglected to make use of the powerful educational instrument which they had in Urdu; and, regarding education (as every one must regard it) as the medium through which the improvement and progress of India was to be effected, he would urge the use of Urdu and of English concurrently as a means of instruction. To those who took a superficial view of the subject it might appear that the selection of any one language over another was a matter of comparative indifference; but he, on the contrary, believed it to be a question of the utmost possible importance, because a great deal depended on the instrument selected to introduce European ideas, habits of thought, and opinions among the people of India. Time would not permit him to enlarge upon this topic, and he would therefore employ the two minutes that were at his disposal in drawing attention to one or two passages in the lecture which had especially attracted his attention, and whose sentiments he begged most heartily to endorse. The first passage to which he referred was where the Lecturer, referring to the Tibeto-Caucasian races, says: "If their empire has gone and their tongue has failed, much of the light population of the North and the North-west, supposed to be Aryan, must be Tibeto-Caucasian, as is the case likewise in Persia, Armenia, and Georgia; and it is thus that the diversity of the Western Aryans from the so-called Eastern Aryans is explained." This suggestion was a most valuable one, as explaining a most difficult historical problem—namely, the difference between the Eastern and the Western Aryans. The next remark of the Lecturer to which he wished to draw attention was that "we are probably inclined to overrate what is called Aryan influence and its Sanskrit development, because we do not sufficiently know and estimate the stream of Tibeto-Caucasian, and perhaps of Dravidian influence; for, after all, with many vicissitudes and with local failures, the career of civilization is continuous and accumulative." This sentence contained a truth of the utmost value to the historian and the philosopher. Further, the Lecturer observed that the study of Arabic,

of Persian, and of Turkish arrested the stagnation of language and of thought in Asia; while, from the absence of this, stagnation exists in China to a degree which almost precludes the possibility of improvement. This, again, suggested the remarks he had already made as to the peculiar elasticity of Urdu; and he would point to the advantages India enjoyed in this respect as compared with China, whose language, though it possessed an immense vocabulary, had no elasticity and none of the absorbent properties of Urdu. Hence the extreme difficulty of awakening thought in those new forms which are the springs of modern civilization and progress. In conclusion, he would refer to another remark of Dr. Clarke's which he heartily endorsed: "The English as a nation have as good a title as the Parsees, scarcely older than themselves, or the Persians, whose last invasion took place when we had factories in India. Let us stand, therefore, on our right to contribute to the advancement and progress of India, and to lead the way to this, as Providence has assigned to us the mission." These words embodied a truth too often lost sight of. We could not too forcibly impress upon the people of India, or realise too forcibly ourselves, the fact that we do not occupy the position of mere conquerors in India. We do not profess to rule by mere force, although in this we have as good a title as those conquerors that have preceded us and whom we displaced. Even if our title were one purely of conquest, we have as good a right to be there at least as our predecessors; but we sought to rule India by moral power, that we might assist her in her advance towards prosperity and civilization.

Mr. HODGSON PRATT said he deeply felt the magnitude of the topics suggested by the Lecturer; and though he could not pretend to give any opinion respecting the philological and historical portions of the paper, he might venture to say that Dr. Clarke had clearly shown the important bearing the science of philology has upon history and government, and how it could prove the movements of races of which there is no written record. The practical application of philology to modern politics was shown in the facts adduced by the Lecturer as to the relations of the British to the present inhabitants of India; and it was encouraging to find that science was thus giving a back-bone to the most enlightened hopes of those politicians who look forward to the day when India shall again turn to that life of progress and activity and energy which once distinguished it. The paper had thrown great light upon that difficult problem, the causes which produced, at certain periods and in certain races, complete intellectual, social, and political stagnation. Evidence had been given to show that in order to break up that stagnation, when it had once supervened, it was necessary that the race which suffered from it should be fertilized by contact with some other race; and it seems to

have been the province of the English race to perform that office for the Hindoos, and to reinvigorate the political and intellectual life of the nations of India by their close connection with them. No greater or grander task for a nation could be imagined; and no higher privilege could be enjoyed than that of stimulating a great people to resume the life of onward movement and progress. The whole history of the past in India shows that there have been few races in the world which once contained more elements of power to benefit mankind by discoveries in science, philosophy, and religion. It must always be a mournful consideration to see that race suddenly arrested in its progress of civilization, and in its power of benefitting the world by vigorous thought in all the branches of human knowledge; and it was therefore a cause of the deepest satisfaction to believe that it was given to the British people to revive the latent intelligence and activity of India, to encourage her to reinstate herself among the advanced nations of the earth, by discoveries, inventions, and ideas, and to secure her adhesion to the combined march of human progress. It is not given to any one race to have a perfect conception of any department of human truth; real progress was only obtained by the varied lights which various races can bring to bear upon the general march of truth; and therefore it is of the greatest consequence to the world and to humanity that a race like that of India should again take its place in the field of progress. The speaker who had just sat down (Mr. Prichard) alluded to the fact that the English have as much right as other conquering races have in India; but they would all agree that the only real right of England to govern India was the moral right of being able to show that her presence there was a necessity and a benefit to the people. It was because the English, more than any other conquering race in history, have recognized the moral responsibility of the conqueror, that the British rule in India was likely to be a blessing to themselves and to the natives of India. He had been much struck by the passage in the lecture where reference was made to the danger which accompanies a career of conquest; but that danger was greatly lessened when the principles of right and justice were recognized. Hence the disposition of the English in India has been to recognize the principles involved in the establishment of free institutions as being as true in India as at home; and it is because of this that we are likely to prosper in our connexion with that great country, and to promote the true happiness of its people. Of course there is a time for all things. It would have been impossible at one period in our own country to have given the political institutions which are now enjoyed by the people at large; and all nations have had to pass through a season of pupillage, just as individuals must do, and the full development of free

institutions cannot be suddenly brought about. Therefore Dr. Clarke was quite right in the warning, that what is done in India must be accomplished carefully and by degrees, ever keeping in view our final object of accustoming the people of India to the enjoyment of free institutions; and by this means only we shall justify our title to be in India. Conquest gives no permanent security to us, and affords us no moral title to possession; but a moral title can be shown in the evidence that we are endeavouring to enlighten and to raise the people of India. He cordially agreed with the views expressed by the Lecturer, that true progress is to be obtained not by the attempt at introducing a stereotyped uniformity of institutions and legislation, such as the French and other European nations of the Latin race have sought to accomplish. The English have been wiser, and have recognized the necessity, that while observing uniformity in general principles, the modes in which those principles are to be carried into practice should vary according to local circumstances. In dealing with the people of India it must be recollected that they are composed of a great variety of races, with their own distinct tendencies and traditions; and that any endeavour to force upon them uniformity of institutions and uniformity of laws will lead to much division and discontent. The true method is to adopt the fundamental principles which underlie all true progress, and to allow free scope to the natural variety of race and character. He knew that these remarks were extremely superficial, and unworthy of the very excellent paper which had just been read; but he felt that he ought not to remain silent, after listening with so much pleasure to the views which had been laid before them with so much learning and ability. In conclusion, Mr. Pratt expressed the hope that the lecture would have the effect of leading men to study more generally the subject of race and of language in its bearing upon many of those great political problems which can only be solved in the light of science and philosophy.

Mr. WILLIAM BOTLY apologized for occupying the attention of the meeting, but hoped that he might venture on a few remarks, seeing that there were not many speakers. First, he must cordially congratulate the Lecturer upon the highly satisfactory manner in which he had treated the subject; its excellence, learning, and skill had been deservedly commended by preceding speakers. Of the subject itself he confessed he took very much the same views as those enunciated by the speaker opposite (Mr. Prichard), and, with respect to the educational policy of the Government of India, he thought the vernaculars should be used concurrently with English. But as much had already been said in respect to the question of language, he desired more particularly to refer to the latter portion of the paper. *En passant* he might concur in the

expression of deep regret at the almost culpable negligence with which English statesmen are accustomed to treat the affairs of India ; a neglect so great that it was notorious that an Indian topic was the most effectual means of emptying the House of Commons in the shortest imaginable space of time. In this connection the services of the Society of Arts by its Indian conferences, and the East India Association by its various meetings, were a valuable means of effecting the most important work of keeping alive and extending the knowledge of the English people respecting one of the most important portions of the British Empire ; for otherwise it was to be feared that the affairs of India would be even more neglected than they are at present. He fully agreed with the dictum of the Lecturer, that in governing India we must not unsettle, but must build up from the bases of native institutions ; and, by studying the habits of the people, adapt their institutions to modern wants, rather than force upon them the machinery of government to which they are not in the least suited. Being a great admirer of municipal institutions, he had of late heard with great pleasure several speakers of authority in matters relative to India declare, as was remarked by Dr. Clarke, that there exists in India, and has existed for many ages, a species of local government admirably adapted for its purpose, and in all respects of a most noteworthy character. This system, it had been urged—and it appeared to him rightly urged—was of such a nature as should be developed and encouraged, as fitted for all the necessities of local self-government. It thus appeared that the principle of government by representation was one not novel or strange to the Indian mind ; but that, on the contrary, it was possible that municipal institutions, and even representative government, originated in India itself, and from this fact we obtain the assurance that the modern principles of government can be applied with success to the management of the affairs of the people of India. As regards the use of the English language, he thought there could be hardly too much stress laid upon the importance of it ; and Miss Carpenter (on whom the mantle of the philanthropic Mrs. Fry appears so gracefully to have fallen), in her tour throughout India, had been able to obtain many remarkable proofs in support of that view. It should be remembered that the use of English in India was one of the most efficacious means for inculcating that spirit of freedom and independence which was most required by the people of India, and an absolute requisite to instruction in modern arts and sciences. At the same time its use as a tongue must have a tendency to influence the natives to regard the British rule with less aversion ; and it would lead the people to see the beauty of the Christian religion gradually, but in a more signal way than ever the labours of the missionaries had done. After some

further complimentary allusions to the construction of the lecture; Mr. Botly concluded by giving his cordial adherence to the principle laid down by Dr. Clarke, that equality of rights is given more effectually by adapting the same uniform principles in accordance with the ideas, customs, and manners of each, than by insisting upon one stereotyped form of administration common to all India. An attempt, he said, to exert an absolute uniformity and action was a mistake; and though a foreigner might, on a cursory view of England, assume that uniformity was the rule, he would find on further inquiry that within certain recognized lines the greatest diversity of opinion was allowed, and the widest latitude of action permitted. Such a policy, eminently successful in England, should be applied to the government of India.

Mr. SYED MAHMOOD (Christ's College, Cambridge) said he had been very much struck with the importance of the study of the descent of the natives of India, while hearing the lecture; but while fully recognizing the importance of this, the philological part of the question, he deemed the latter portion of the paper as offering points more immediately practical. He should therefore take the liberty of laying before the meeting some of the views which he entertained respecting the political condition of his countrymen, and in offering these opinions he would be giving results not only of what he had read and heard, but of his own personal experience. The difficulty which lecturers and speakers upon India always laboured under was the vast extent of the area and of the population of India. The distinction of races—Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian in their stocks—made any general view of the capacity of the people deficient in its application. Speaking generally, the population of India might be said to be divided into Hindu and Mussulman. Now although it is a fact that during the few centuries which have elapsed since the incoming of the Mussulmans there has been a considerable admixture of blood with the Hindus, yet they are still widely distinct, and the former exhibit certain capacities which do not characterise the Hindus, and *vice versa*. And thus it is that you have in India every variety of national capacity, even more than is to be found in Europe. Mention has been made of the discoveries of the Indians. Taking, as an instance, what is probably the most important of all sciences, that of mathematics, they would find that in India the science of arithmetic originated; that the principle of the decimal system was known there prior to its reaching the knowledge of the most civilized nations of ancient Europe—Greece and Rome. We find also that the present system of notation came from India; and this very fact is sufficient to show that a people who could make discoveries like these must have possessed great intellectual powers. The present people of India

look back upon their ancestors, those whose intellect made discoveries of the highest value, whose works of architecture even now fill the world with amazement—they look back upon these, and desire to emulate them. The architectural glories of India were really of a most remarkable character, and as worthy of the attention of the traveller as any that Europe could offer. The Taj Mahal is admitted to be one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, while the Jumna Musjid of Delhi is not less celebrated; and both of these were erected by Mohammedan designers at the command of Mohammedan emperors. Viewed fairly, then, the question whether India can supply efficient officers competent to fill the positions hitherto monopolized by Englishmen is not difficult to answer; and those who are best acquainted with the natives of India are ready to bear testimony to the capability of the people for a government of as high a development as exists in the world. Competing with the youth of England the natives are enabled to secure a fair proportion of the offices thrown open to them by the English Government of India. But only a very few people can afford to come to England, and run the risk of failure; and therefore natives of India have just cause of complaint that those competitive examinations are not held in India itself. A far larger number of native candidates would then be enabled to compete for the offices. He might also be permitted to allude to the erection of an Indian college, two or three years ago, at Cooper's Hill, for the education of English youths to be employed as engineers in India. This he had believed to be one of the most unjust of the recent acts of the Government of India, for the natives of India should be allowed at least as fair an opportunity of getting the appointments of their own country as is enjoyed by Englishmen; and if the Government saw fit to establish an Indian engineering college in England they should at least do the same for Indian youths in India. Of the many points of which the natives of India justly or unjustly complain, the question of the Civil Service is one of the most important. Into another co-relative branch of the administration of the country—the military profession—the youth of India is prohibited from entering at all; and thus the most natural profession which would commend itself to the Mussulman youth of India—the profession of arms—is denied him. Such prohibitions as these on the part of the English Government are the more surprising when it is seen that the French place no such restriction upon the natives of their foreign possessions—at least, in the case of Algeria. From his own personal experience he could testify that the exclusion of the youth of India from adopting the profession of arms is felt as a great grievance by many, who are ready to undergo all the hard training and physical exercise necessary in the life of a soldier. He repeated that his main

object in speaking was to bring the latter portion of the paper more prominently under discussion, and to give reasons for his opinion that the modern people of India have quite as much capacity as the modern Greeks, and that they are as proud of their great ancestry, of their philosophers and poets, as the modern Greeks of theirs; and that as the modern Greek aspires to occupy the place in the world which was held by his forefathers, so does the modern Indian feel in respect to his own ancestry. It is for England to turn those aspirations to good account, and to encourage India to go hand in hand with her in the march of progress and prosperity, and form a union benefitting alike both India and England.

MIRZA KHODADAD BEG said that among the practical suggestions included in the lecture there was one which he thought of the most essential importance—viz., that the best policy of England was “to make the Brahmin a greater Sanskrit scholar, and to provide for the Mussulman the prosecution of his congenial studies in Arabic and Persian.” This was no doubt the truest educational policy in India; and if the Lecturer had gone further, and shown that the chief means of instruction should be through the vernaculars, he would in a single sentence have explained the wants of the people of India in respect to education. The native gentlemen present had, no doubt, heard with special satisfaction the learning with which it had been shown that the capabilities of the Indian races were as progressive as those of any other nation; but the real question was whether, having those capabilities, they enjoyed the means of progress? Those who urged the use of the English language as an instrument of education would, of course, reply that the means of progress were afforded; but in his opinion the English language was not conducive to this end *without* the co-operative assistance of the vernaculars. The use of the English language was confessedly an innovation, and all innovations to be successful should be presented in an acceptable form—which was not the case in this instance, and, consequently, it failed to effect its object, at any rate in the Upper Provinces. If the vernaculars had been better utilized, and more attention paid to the Oriental classics at the same time as the study of English was introduced, the object would have been achieved, and much dissatisfaction avoided; while the progress of a large and influential section of the community—the Mohammedans—would not have been stayed as it has been; for the Mohammedans up to the present have not, generally speaking, felt themselves able fully to accept the benefits of the education offered by the Indian Government. The lesson to be derived from this fact was that more effectual means should be adopted to secure the education of the people of India; and this could only be done by the

use of the vernaculars, one of which at least, as has already been shown by Mr. Prichard, was capable of every variety of expression.

Mr. GEORGE BROWNING said the subject of Dr. Clarke's admirable paper having been so ably discussed, he could offer but few remarks. However, he might venture to say, in reference to those which had fallen from Mr. Khodadad Beg, deductions might be drawn that a nation as desirous of progressing as it would appear the people of India are at the present time ought not to ask the English Government to teach them the arts of war, but rather should direct their attention to the cultivation of the arts of peace—literature and science, music and poetry, sculpture and painting; and perhaps the best mode of doing this would be by coinciding with the Government in promoting the progress of modern institutions, and by circulating widely the literature of England and a system of sound, general, and comprehensive education. It was in this way, he thought, that the greatest development of India could be effected.

Mr. J. T. ZORN (Assistant-Secretary of the East India Association) said that before Dr. Clarke terminated the discussion he wished simply to record his own gratitude for having been privileged to hear so admirable a lecture. He was thankful that he had spent a portion of his life in India, for there his horizon of knowledge and experience was greatly enlarged; and because there he was enabled to acquire something of that language—Urdu—of which Mr. Prichard had with justice expressed his high admiration. He shared Mr. Prichard's sentiments entirely on this point, and he had often wondered that Urdu was not more extensively studied in Europe, particularly at our own Court, considering that Urdu, or Hindustanee, was the Court language of so important a dependency of the British Empire and of the adjacent Native States, when French was so assiduously acquired as the Court language of the Western world. Urdu had certainly given him an insight into his own language—the German—which he would never have gained but for its acquirement; and in the dialectic peculiarities of Urdu he had found most interesting coincidences with expressions that now existed only in some of the dialects of Germany. In respect to the municipal institutions, he might remark that in India he found the same form of local government as still exists in some of the Alpine valleys. In reference to the advantages of the English language, he shared the opinions of those who urged that it was the best means of encouraging independence in thought and action; and a forcible instance of this was to be found in the case of Germany. The revival of German literature at the hands of Schiller, Goëthe, and their contemporaries, was undoubtedly partly to be traced to the influence of Shakspeare and other English writers; and hence were imbibed the

English ideas of liberty and freedom of action. The saying of Guizot, that Germany was two hundred years behind England in political development, had once nettled him; but time and comparison of varied forms of government in three quarters of the globe had shown him that there was much truth in the statement. The growth of free political institutions was thus shown to be slow; and it afforded a lesson in respect to the English government of India. Liberty had developed to a wonderful extent in England without the concurrent danger of licence, as was shown by the fact that although at that moment the State was passing through a great political crisis,* absolute quiet prevailed. To accustom the natives of India to the use of such institutions as these, should be the aim of the rulers of the country. It takes a certain time to get accustomed to grant to others the same liberty of opinion, utterance, and action which we claim for ourselves, and thus to escape the tyranny of one-sided majorities. Thereby the prosperity of India would be secured, at the same time that the power of the British Empire was consolidated.

Dr. HYDE CLARKE said he had to express his obligations to the meeting for the attention with which they had listened to the lecture, and he was especially grateful to those native gentlemen who had taken part in the proceedings. The first condition towards closer attention in this country to the affairs of India is that Indians should themselves show their interest and anxiety in the subject; and they might be sure that any observations which they made would be heard with respect, good feeling, and sympathy. Even if, in considering the subject, they perhaps naturally gave too much prominence to merely local grievances, yet they might be assured that even in regard to these they would meet with ready attention, and will prepare the way either for the redress of those grievances, or for the removal from their own minds of the sentiments of prejudice which they entertained on the subject. As had been remarked by the preceding speaker (Mr. Zorn), it might be unfortunate that, owing to a great political struggle, they were deprived of the presence of many of their Parliamentary friends. He was nevertheless fortunate so far in having the subject amply and ably discussed by those who had spoken, and he believed it would be so discussed by the Press in India. One chief object he had in view had been fully recognized—that, whether with respect to India or any other country, while regarding circumstances of race, of blood, of colour, we ought also to regard the elements of mental culture. He would not be tempted at that

* Alluding to Mr. Fawcett's Irish University Bill, which was to be treated in Parliament that very evening as a Cabinet question.

late hour to venture on the field to which Mr. Prichard had invited him or raise the interesting questions to which he had made reference. With regard, however, to Mr. Prichard's remarks on the gigantic stone monuments, the remains of which are scattered over the world, and to which brief reference was made in the lecture, they must undoubtedly have been erected at a most remote epoch; and so far as we can trace in the history of civilization, we see the same remarkable phenomena that we see in the geological history of the world, a continuity of progression. We are apt to measure these events by the limit of our own imperfect knowledge, forgetting that what we call the history of the world is really but the history of those few populations and races which are most known to us. Yet it could not be doubted that vast populations, whose existence had now left so few traces, had materially assisted in building up the civilization the fruits of which the present age is now enjoying. He was glad to hear Mr. Prichard refer to Urdu as a language of great capabilities, because native testimony on the subject might be thought to be tinged with prejudice, whereas Mr. Prichard, as an Englishman, could not be so far affected. The decrying of Urdu as a "mongrel tongue" suggested the question, What is a mongrel tongue and what is not a mongrel tongue? There was no language, however high or however low, but had within it words of the greatest antiquity, and the elements of which were obtained from other races. In fact, a language which ceases to have this absorbent power becomes arrested in its progress. Urdu has, as stated, "a marvellous elasticity and "power of expression, and it has exhibited a remarkable capacity for assimilating words required for modern uses." Hence it is an important and indispensable instrument in the education of India. There were, however, other languages also which exhibited the same power of assimilation and the same facility of expression; for instance, the Turkish language, which is also a triple language, capable of utilizing with a Turkish grammar the resources of Persian and of Arabic. The Japanese language is also at present showing features of a similar character. Formerly it had the power of assimilating Chinese, and it is now using the terms of English and other European languages. Moreover, they would not forget that the English language was peculiarly a language of this kind; formed from a triple stock, its affinities were wide, and its power of assimilation as large as that of any language, rendering it equal to all possible requirements. And, therefore, while cultivating the use of the vernaculars as a means of education in India—and particularly Urdu—we should not neglect the use of English as a means to the same end. Mr. Zorn had well referred to the value of English as a powerful instrument in the culture of political progress, and he had shown how

beneficially it affected the political and literary condition of Germany. A similar effect could also be traced in Italy, in Hungary, and in the Spanish republics of South America. In the latter this was the case to such an extent, that the writings of English philosophers—legists and others—whose works were too often neglected in England, were carefully taught in the universities of those countries. If, therefore, the English language had been thus powerful in the promotion of the progress and enlightenment of other nations, why should not its use be extended to India with a similar effect; and why should India be deprived of the privilege of an aid which has been of so much advantage to other nations? It were hardly too much to say that all the modern nations which enjoyed political freedom and representative institutions had derived their political culture from English sources, whether of the old world or the new. India, of all things, required political and social development; not such as would enable some few of the community to enjoy barbarous magnificence, or some minority to obtain a larger share of public offices, but an advancement in which the whole people would be affected, down to the traders in the towns and the ryots and labourers in the fields. A most interesting point had been alluded to by one of the speakers with regard to the question of stagnation in civilization, and the consideration of the question would give many important lessons. Take, for instance, the case of America. There they would observe the fact that up to a certain period in the early history of the world America participated in all those vast migrations of population which spread the seeds of knowledge throughout the world; but a period came when America ceased to participate more particularly in those later movements, the Semitic and the Aryan, which have so greatly contributed to human progress. The consequence was that the advance of America in the path of enlightenment was arrested at a certain stage, whose highest forms were exhibited in the Empires of Mexico and Peru. But with India the case was altogether different. India has continuously participated in the supplies of knowledge, and has shared in what the rest of the world has produced; and she has given to the world, in return, many contributions to human progress. Hence it was that the argument of his lecture was strengthened—namely, that there is no race in India which has not shown evidence and capabilities of advancement. In conclusion, Dr. Clarke observed that he had been unfortunate in one respect that evening, for he had received no hostile criticism although he was conscious of his own shortcomings, and felt that he might have given more careful attention to some points, were time at his disposal. But he felt bound to acknowledge that the subject had been freely and ably discussed by the various speakers, and he gave

them his sincere thanks for the courtesy and attention with which he had been received.

The CHAIRMAN observed that when he took the liberty to suggest that the discussion should be confined to the latter portion of the admirable paper read by Dr. Clarke, it was because that portion had more especial relation to the practical administration of India, and to the practical benefits to be derived from the supremacy of the British nation. The real fact was that the whole paper contained so much of deep research, learning, and antiquarian inquiry, that fifty lectures and fifty discussions would not suffice to exhaust the material; and he had that feeling regarding the purpose of the East India Association that, speaking generally, they should as far as possible confine themselves to the discussion of those points which tend to the practical development of the welfare of India and the enlightenment of its inhabitants. Looking with this view at the valuable paper they had just heard, he perceived in it two statements from which great satisfaction might be derived, and these were: first, that in our present position of supremacy in India we ought not to regard ourselves as an alien race, and on that account debarred from developing the resources of the country; and on the other hand, that the natives of India had great capacity for advancement. These were two practical truths which, if taken to heart, would be found of the utmost importance in guiding us in the great task which Providence has entrusted to the English in India. He did not propose now to discuss the means by which, in days gone by, we secured that power—whether by conquest, by acquisition (honest or dishonest), by the fulfilment or by the violation of treaties; questions which form the staple argument of discussion in the present day. The great practical fact is, that we are in India, that we possess the supreme power without dispute or question; and that, holding that position, a great responsibility is placed upon us. What is that responsibility? It is so to act and so to order our administration that our presence in India shall be a blessing, and not a curse; so to aid in the progress and advancement of those great nations and peoples, now by a sort of miracle placed in our hands, as to secure their permanent welfare and prosperity. It must ever be borne in mind that we have to do with different races of varying intelligence, that we have to legislate for varying civilizations, and for a people which, for sundry reasons, has lost that supremacy of intellect which it once possessed; that we have to deal with these populations tenderly, conscientiously, and righteously; and at the same time bring them, not only to the knowledge, but to the practical application of those higher principles which we possess. To accomplish this is a most difficult, a most responsible, a stupendous work, for the accomplishment of which we may fairly claim the patient

co-operation' of those with whom we have to deal. He believed he might say the English Government in India are influenced by a conscientious desire, on the whole, to do their duty justly; but there are tremendous difficulties to contend with, and so various are the remedies suggested by those interested in the promotion of the welfare of the people of India, that the best-inclined may well be in a state of bewilderment. So recently as the last meeting of the Association, each speaker had his own method of securing peace and prosperity to India; and five or six different theories were proposed as panaceas for the present grievances. Federation, representation in the British Parliament, representation by an Indian Parliament, withdrawal of the English rule—all these were urged by able and conscientious men. But he was inclined himself to believe that if the two leading facts suggested by the paper now read—viz., the capacity of the natives of India for advancement, and the power of the British Government to render that advancement permanent—were duly acted upon, our administration would reap its "reward." He hoped that such discussions would—at least to a certain extent—have the effect of attracting more or less of the attention of English statesmen to the government of India; for it is a lamentable truth—which we are always regretting, and can never cease to regret—that there is a great, a culpable indifference on the part of the leading statesmen of England to the welfare and circumstances of India. The East India Association may hope that, as these meetings are continued, they will by slow degrees attract the attention of the public; and some day, perhaps, the room in which they were now met would be filled with enthusiastic and applauding audiences. The East India Association may also indulge the hope that its efforts in this direction have not been entirely unsuccessful, and that the time may come when the Government of India will find not a discontented, not a dissentient, not a disaffected people, but one acknowledging with gratitude that their prosperity and welfare, both temporal and eternal, have been truly studied by the Government under which they have been placed. The Chairman concluded by moving a vote expressive of the hearty thanks of the meeting for Dr. Hyde Clarke's excellent paper.

Mr. PRICHARD cordially seconded the motion, which was duly acknowledged by Dr. CLARKE; and a vote of thanks having been accorded to the Chairman, a motion acknowledging the courtesy of the Society of Arts in allowing the use of the hall was also agreed to. The proceedings then terminated.

RULES.

I.—OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 1. The EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION is instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

II.—MEMBERS.

Article 2. The Association shall consist of Resident and Non-Resident Ordinary and Honorary Members.

Article 3. Honorary Members shall have the same rights and privileges as Ordinary Members.

Article 4. Honorary Members shall be nominated by the Council at any Ordinary Meeting, and shall consist of persons who have distinguished themselves in promoting the good of India.

Article 5. Ordinary Members shall be nominated in writing by two Members of the Association, and elected after ten days' notice of such nomination, at the next General Meeting of the Council, if approved by a majority of two-thirds present thereat.

Article 6. The Election of every Member, both Ordinary and Honorary, shall be recorded on the minutes of the Council; and the Secretary shall forthwith notify, by letter, his election to the Member, and request such Member to furnish a standing order on his Banker for his Annual Subscription.

Article 7. Ordinary Members shall pay an Annual Subscription of 1l., or 10 Rs., on the 1st January in every year; or may compound for the same by payment of 100 Rs., or 10l., which shall constitute a Life Member.

NOTE—Total Annual Subscription, including Journal (delivered free of postage) £1 5 0
Life Subscription ditto ditto 14 0 0
Annual Subscription (including Journal), in India..... 18 Rupees 8 Annas.
Life Subscription ditto ditto..... 150 „

III.—MODE OF MANAGEMENT.

Article 8. The Management of the Association shall be vested in a Council, consisting of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Thirty Ordinary Members; Five to form a Quorum; and Eight to retire annually by Rotation, but eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

Article 9. A President of the Association shall be appointed at the Annual Meeting; and the Council may, from time to time, nominate distinguished Indian Statesmen, or others, as Vice-Presidents, subject to the confirmation of the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 10. The Council shall appoint a Secretary, and such other Employés as may be necessary, and fix their Salaries and Emoluments.

Article 11. The Council may fill up Vacancies in their own body, until the next Annual Meeting of the Association.

Article 12. The Council shall meet on the First Wednesday in the

month; but the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, or any three Members of the Council may at any time convene a Meeting by giving three days' notice.

Article 13. The Council may appoint Special Sub-Committees of not less than Five Members of the Association, three of whom shall form a Quorum.

Article 14. At the desire of Five Members of the Council, or on the written requisition of Ten Members of the Association, the Secretary shall convene a Special Meeting of the Association.

FUNCTIONS OF THE OFFICERS.

Article 15. The President, or, in his absence, any Vice-President, or in the absence thereof, any Member, shall preside at the Annual or Ordinary Meetings of the Association.

Article 16. The Chairman or Vice-Chairman of the Council, or, in their absence, any Member thereof nominated by those present, shall preside at the Meetings of the Council.

ANNUAL MEETING.

Article 17. The Annual Meeting of the Association shall be held in the month of May in every year.

Article 18. General Ordinary Meetings of the Association for promoting the interests thereof, and for the discussion of subjects connected with India, shall be held at such times and places as the Council may appoint.

Article 19. A statement of the Accounts of the Association shall be prepared, audited by one of the Members of the Council and one Member taken from the general body of the Members of the Society, and circulated with the Report of the Council to each Resident Member, ten days before the Annual Meeting.

LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Article 20. Local Committees shall be appointed in India by Local Subscribers, subject to the approval of the Council; and the co-operation of independent Local Associations in India is invited by the "East India Association."

BYE-LAWS.

Article 21. The Council shall have power to make and alter any Bye-laws for the Management of the Association.

ALTERATION OF RULES.

Article 22. No addition to or alteration in these Rules shall be made, except at the Annual Meeting of the Association, previous notice being given in the Circular convening the Meeting.

JOURNAL OF THE ASSOCIATION.

Article 23. The Council may, in their discretion, publish, quarterly or otherwise, a Journal, containing a Report of the several General and other Meetings of the Association. Papers submitted for discussion shall be published *in extenso*, or not, as the Council may decide.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1872.

J. B. SMITH, Esq., M.P. for Stockport, IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Mr. R. H. ELLIOT.

What the True Interests of Manchester really are in India.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, briefly called upon Mr. R. H. Elliot to address the meeting.

Mr. R. H. ELLIOT said: The other day, when reading a very interesting and valuable pamphlet written by a native of India, I met with the following passage: "Now-a-days, whenever a promise is made by our rulers, the people unanimously observe that the Englishmen of to-day are not the same as Englishmen forty years ago." Now how comes it, let me ask, that we have given the people just cause to talk thus? What, for instance, has caused the Duke of Argyll, or whoever has been responsible for the government of India for the last three years, to sell in the eyes of the people our name for good faith? How is it that our collectors told the people some years ago that the increased rate of Income-tax would only last for one year; and how is it that these very men had to appear as liars in the eyes of the people when they were compelled to announce that the enhanced rate would be continued? How comes it that I find in the evidence given before the Finance Committee, that in Western India the Government had, in the eyes of the people, been guilty of another gross breach of faith? Why is it that the arrival of a British officer, which used to be considered as a blessing, is now considered as a curse, and that the people, regarding him in the same light as the Mahrattas of old, ask "What can he have come for but taxing us?" How is it, let me ask, that with all the knowledge we have of the poverty, the sickness, and the crime caused by drinking; how is it that we, who are so painfully alive to the evils arising from gin-palaces at every corner; how is it that, with all this knowledge staring us in the face, we have laid down drink to every man's door in India? And how is it that we have turned our attention so effectually to what is called this promising branch of

revenue, that the accursed vice of drinking is rapidly spreading from one end of India to the other? How is it that the solvency of our Indian Empire actually depends upon the fortuitous circumstance that we are still able to force opium on the Chinese, and that from the fact of the Chinese having taken to growing it themselves, we are threatened with bankruptcy at no very distant date? How is it that the rats are deserting the ship, and that the paltry native stake in Indian securities is steadily diminishing? How is it, and I wish you particularly to mark these words, that the power in India is gradually slipping from our grasp, and that if we continue to go on as we are now doing, our rule as it at present stands will soon be numbered with the things that were? Well, the answer to these and to a hundred kindred questions is to be found in the fact that the Government has not only spent too much money, but spent it in the wrong way. When we ask the cause of this we find that it did so owing to the pressure brought to bear upon the Government by the trading interests of this country; to the pressure that urged the Government to open up the country, and push on every branch of civilization with the least possible delay. When we ask again what caused Manchester to act in a way which has led to such fatal results, the answer is to be found in the fact that Manchester was entirely ignorant as to what the capabilities, resources, and requirements of India really are. It shall be my endeavour this evening to remove that ignorance; to teach Manchester how to be selfish; to show her, in short, what her true interests in India really are; and to prove to her how beautifully those interests coincide in every way with the interests of the people of that distant empire.

And now, Gentlemen, I purpose inquiring :—

I. What the base of civilization really is in India.

II. I purpose inquiring whether the present action of Manchester does or does not harmonize with that base.

III. I shall point out what the true interests of Manchester really are in India, and what the Manchesterians should do for the future with the view of furthering the interests of both countries.

IV. I shall explain what I meant when I said just now that in consequence of the action of Manchester our power in India is gradually but surely slipping from our grasp.

And, first of all, as to the base of Indian civilization. When Hyder Ali, the Mohammedan usurper of Mysore, once wanted to choose a puppet heir to the throne from the old Hindoo line, he summoned before him all the children of the families of the blood-royal, and threw down a number of toys, to observe the children at play. One seized one

toy, and one another; at last one little fellow seized a sword in one hand, and immediately afterwards took a lime with the other. "Let that be the future Rajah," said Hyder. "His first care is for the security of his dominions, his second is to see after the produce of the soil." In other words, he very soundly concluded that the first, and the second, and the third thing necessary for the base of civilization is the safety of life. Now, Gentlemen, I am almost ashamed to call your attention to such an obvious truism as this, or rather I should say that I am honestly ashamed that our people here are so entirely ignorant of the conditions of Indian life, that we have actually to go back like children to the very bottom of the political scale—honestly ashamed that I actually have to base the whole of my arguments this evening on the simple truism that the safety of life is that base from which alone any nation can advance towards a solid civilization. And yet it is an undoubted fact that if the people I am now addressing carry away this one great fact, and are successful in urging it on the attention of the English people, the key to the greatest of our Indian problems will be found, and the principal difficulties connected with our Eastern administration triumphantly overcome. Something indeed we have done towards laying the groundwork of civilization, for we have kept the peace for the last fourteen years, and so far we may say that life is as safe as it has ever been in India. But the remainder of the problem, and I fear the greatest part of it, has yet to be solved. Within little more than the last ten years 2,814,529 of the inhabitants of India have died from starvation, and during the present year another famine has no doubt added—who shall say how many?—victims to the tale. Place that fact side by side with the test of good government in all countries—the safety of life—and let any man say, if he can, that the base of civilization has been firmly laid in India; nay, more, let any man deny, if he can, that a government which witnesses such things and neglects to take every possible precaution against their recurrence—let any man deny, if he can, that such a government may justly be spoken of as cruel and barbarous! These I know are harsh and uncompromising terms, but I make use of them because I am sure they are well deserved, and because I deem it best for both countries that the naked truth should be plainly declared. And now, Gentlemen, let us look to the future, and let us ask what is necessary for securing the safety of life in India. In the first place, and as a temporary measure, it is absolutely necessary that in all districts where famines are possible State granaries should be formed, in order to tide people over periods of dearth. But though this measure is expedient, it must not be looked upon as the measure for best securing the permanent safety of life and the general interests of the people. In order to secure these

interests we must look to water alone. Without this nothing can be done, and whichever way you look you will find the answer come the same, and you will get to water at last. If the financier comes to me, I tell him that the key of finance is population to pay plenty of taxes; that the key of population is ample and certain food; and that the only key to regular and ample food is to be found in water. If the general politician comes to me, I say to him that if we wish to hold our own in India this can only be done by rendering her people rich and contented; that this can only be done by developing the resources of the soil, and that this again can only be done by cheap and abundant water. If Manchester comes to me, I say that India can only become an active purchaser of her wares by being enriched; and here again we get to the one, the only answer. If Manchester again comes to me, and says that she wants an improved quality of cotton, and that she wants to have it as cheaply and regularly as possible, I say this can only be effected by irrigation, and by rendering agriculture so safe that the area devoted to the production of food can be safely reduced, and more land spared for cotton without the smallest risk of famine. If the investor in Indian railways comes to me, and complains of the miserable traffic receipts and paltry earnings, I point to the fact that if ever he wants railways to pay he must find more produce to carry; and here again we get to water. If the general observer comes to me, and says that you can't expect rapid development in a climate which relaxes the frame, and where the people are thus naturally possessed of but little enterprise in matters requiring much physical exertion—if such a man comes to me, I tell him that we must find some way which shall add to the resources of the country with the least possible demand on the labour forces of the people; and this can only be done by water. Ask any man you choose who really knows India well, and who is able to take in at one glance all the circumstances of the situation—ask any such man what is to be done, and he will tell you to get Rungasamy up to his middle in mud and leave him alone.

And now, Gentlemen, I trust you will allow me particularly to call your attention to a subject which is universally admitted to be most intimately connected with the supply and economization of water—I mean the supply of trees. Their effect on climate, and on the economization of the rain that falls; their influence in bringing down rain gradually, and so doing away with those destructive deluges which are so injurious in all parts of the world; their influence in moistening the air, and so modifying the evils arising from hot and parching winds; their influence in making the climate more temperate, and more fitted for continuous labour; their power in modifying sunlight, and doing away with its excessive glare: their chemical action on the air and ground, by which

they prepare the soil for more useful and better kinds of plants—all these points alone show very clearly the part that trees play in the history of the world. But when you come to add that the leaves of many species are highly valuable as manure, and that vegetable matter is in many instances the crying want of Indian soils; when you take into consideration that wood is much needed for fuel and building, and that it is a well-established fact that cholera seldom makes its appearance in well-wooded countries in India; and that the leaves of many trees are also valuable as food for cattle, I feel sure you will, one and all, perceive the extraordinary power that man has over the forces of nature if he will only learn how to turn them to account. In short, it is not the slightest exaggeration to say that, by the planting of trees, you could in the space of thirty years alter and modify the Indian climate, and improve the material condition of the people to an extent which it would be difficult to estimate. If, then, the arguments previously adduced are of any value, they undoubtedly prove that the base of Indian civilization lies in the safety of life; that this can only be immediately secured by public granaries to tide the people over a period of dearth; that this, however, is only to be looked upon as a temporary measure, and that the true base of Indian civilization lies first of all in water; and that, secondly, the way of increasing the supply of water and modifying the climatic conditions of India is to be arrived at through the medium of that vegetable life which, next to water, is most calculated to add to the resources of the country and the general welfare of the people.

And now, Gentlemen, having pointed out the only base from which to advance towards a solid Indian civilization, I purpose inquiring, in the second place, whether the past and present action of Manchester has or has not harmonized with that base, and whether it is or is not doing so at this moment.

And here allow me to say at the outset, that I entirely acquit the Manchesterians of having seen the extreme inconsistency of the demands they simultaneously made on the Government of India. Their action was very like that of the Directors of the East India Company in days gone by, who in the same breath told Warren Hastings to govern leniently and send more money; or, in other words, to be at once the father and the oppressor of the people. And the Manchesterians have in like manner said to the Government of India: "Look after the good of the people; see that they have plenty of irrigation; open up the country with roads and railways; see after their good in every way, and for God's sake send more and better cotton!" And, as might have been expected, the Government, imitating the action of their great predecessor, did look after the railways and the cotton; and indeed their anxiety to provide

the latter material was such that they showed an extraordinary liberality in taking the funds of the people and spending them on cotton farms and cotton commissioners. And, Gentlemen, in acting thus the Government proved itself to be the greatest enemy both of the Indians and the Manchesterians. For the permanent interests of both the safety of Indian life was the indispensable base; and for both was this base neglected, in order that a temporary and evanescent advantage might be gained. Railways were pushed forward, and a vast debt, or the responsibilities of a vast debt, incurred to create them. Now let us consider the general action of railways with reference to the base of civilization—the safety of life. If you reflect for one moment you cannot fail to see that their tendency is obviously to impair the safety of life; for their tendency is to reduce the amount of cereals to a minimum, and turn the whole attention of the people to the production of articles of export which cannot be eaten—as cotton, opium, and oil-seeds. To an ordinary observer it may appear that if railways can take produce out of India, they can carry grain into it from the seaboard; but a single glance at the map will show you that, from the singular geographical position of India, this is simply impossible, seeing that there are no corn-exporting countries within reach on the west, while on the east we have only Burmah to rely on. That the general tendency of railways is to create famines is, then, a proposition which cannot be doubted; and we have already had painful proof that where they now exist the people have derived little or no benefit from them. There was a railway running right up to the famine districts of 1861, and the same railway skirts the Rajpootana states, where we had the great famine of 1868. If, then, the safety of life be indeed the base of civilization, and the works most actively pushed forward in India do not only not provide, but are actually antagonistic to this indispensable base, it follows that the action of Manchester has been hostile to the vital interests of India. And this action has been antagonistic because it is impossible that any poor country can push on simultaneously all the parts of civilization, and because, owing to the ignorance of Manchester, we have commenced with works which, while they are capable of being the crowning point, can never be the base of a solid Indian civilization.

And here it will not be out of place if I say a few words on Indian railways—words which I hope every man will carry home to-night and seriously reflect on. And these remarks I make entirely with reference to Sir Richard Temple's financial statement for 1871-72. In the first place, I have to observe that he informs the public that the railways in India, as a whole, are paying less than 3 per cent. In the next place, I have to inform you that he says that "tonnage and passenger traffic

“ show no considerable increase of late, and leave an immense way for our traffic to make up before it will bear any favourable comparison, either with the size and population of India itself, or with the results obtained from railway communications in other parts of the world ;” and he also points out that within the last five years only two lines show any large increase of earnings, and that the other lines have remained comparatively stationary in this respect during the period in question. The next fact of importance is that the guaranteed interest levied from the people to make up the loss on the railways for the coming year must be set down as £1,856,900, and that, to use his own words, “ the steady accretion year by year of these payments does indeed form matter for serious reflection ;” and in this remark I need hardly say that I entirely concur. And when he subsequently informs the public that “ the growing importance of railway finance will hence be apparent to the taxpayer of India,” I need hardly say that I concur still more heartily ; and that if he had said disagreeably apparent, the observation would have been even more correct. After these cheering statements, you might naturally suppose that Sir Richard would counsel the Government to pause for a time before proceeding with such very tempting undertakings ; but, so far from that, he announces the intention of the Government to carry out a grand total of 15,000 miles of railway, and says that thirty millions more will probably be required within the next ten years ; and he also adds, with evident pride and satisfaction, that “ we are actually endeavouring to do something more or less on fifteen different lines of new railways.” Now this may be a comforting reflection for Sir Richard Temple, but I ask any man here present whether it is a comfortable reflection for the English to find that they are being led into laying out hundreds of millions on such work, or for the natives of India that they have to pay the enormous loss that is represented by the difference between the guaranteed interest and the railway earnings. I ask every man here present whether it would not be wise to suspend the execution of these magnificent schemes until we see our way more clearly, or at least till the railways already made pay their way, and cease to be a burden on the resources of our poverty-stricken Indian Empire ?

And now, Gentlemen, let me ask you, in the third place, what Manchester should do, and what its true interests in India really are. And here I need only say that if you admit the soundness of the arguments previously adduced, there can be little doubt as to what the course of the Manchesterians should be. They should simply go to the Government of India, and urge it to spend no more money on any kind of works but irrigation. They should go to the Government and say, “ India has lost millions of its inhabitants within little more than the

"last ten years, and that proves that your Government must be the worst in the world, for it proves that the base of civilization has not even been commenced; and till we see that base firmly laid, you shall not have another shilling for railways or any works of the kind." If, Gentlemen, you can once get the Government practically to realize the great fact that the safety of life is the base of civilization, your work will be done, and India will be saved as much as she can be by you. For many a year to come the efforts of the Government will be concentrated on irrigation; the people will steadily advance, they will become richer, their only resources will be thoroughly developed, they will become both better producers and better purchasers, and thus will be able, without the smallest risk of famine, to devote the greatest possible area to the most profitable kinds of crops for exportation; and finally, taxation may be made lighter, and the people as well contented as any people can be with an alien rule.

And now, Gentlemen, having shown you as clearly as I can what the true interests of Manchester really are, I purpose explaining finally what I meant when I said, that in consequence of the well-meaning but misdirected action of Manchester, our power in India is in a great measure gone, and that the remainder of that power is gradually but surely slipping from our grasp. And here I trust you will allow me to say, that if I had small difficulty in proving to you what the true interests of Manchester really are, I shall have still less in proving that our power in India is at the present moment something very different from the ideal that exists in most people's minds, and assuredly something very different from what it was forty years ago. In order that you may clearly understand this, it is necessary, as in nearly every other political matter connected with India, that we should go back to the very bottom of the scale; and that just as it was necessary in the previous part of my lecture to commence by stating that the base of civilization is the safety of life, so it is now necessary to commence by stating that, generally speaking, money is power. Recognize that idea, grasp it firmly, and you are bound to admit that our Indian Empire in its original sense is, practically speaking, already numbered with the things that were. Is this a dream? Is it an hallucination? Has the greatest part of our power indeed gone by? Is it a fact that we have rendered into the hands of these feeble people hostages which we can never regain possession of? Is it a dream that these hostages are the life-blood of the widow and the orphan, and of who shall say how many families, living, as they fondly think, in a peaceful state of immunity from the most pressing cares of life? It may indeed be a dream, and I sincerely trust that it may eventually prove to be so; but after long and anxious consideration, and after having subjected my

reasoning to the criticism of many able men, I am bound to say that in the arguments I have to present to you there is neither rent nor flaw, and that, by one of the strangest turns of fortune that the world has ever seen, the strong have indeed rendered themselves into the hands of the weak. And now I have to tell you that the liabilities of the Indian Government come to about 213 millions, and that only 13,790,934 is held by natives; that even that small amount seems to be steadily diminishing, and that a considerable portion of this paltry stake is represented by sums which are by Government orders obliged to be invested in Indian securities. Now, have any of you asked yourselves what that statement means? Have any of you realized the fact that this vast sum is utterly irrecoverable, and that in parting with it you parted with more than three-fourths of your power in India; and that if the Government persists in the course it has announced, we shall be able to fix the date of the termination of our authority more accurately than we can forecast any political event in the world? If we assume that our total stake in India is as low as 200 millions, and that the Government carries out its declared intention of spending another 100 millions on railways within the next twenty-five years, we shall have by that time lodged on the soil of India hostages to the value of 300 millions. But long before that amount of indebtedness has been reached our power in India will be at an end. The people, who are already exhibiting a critical and inquisitorial spirit, will have become educated; they will at last perceive the meaning of the phrase that money is power; and the moment they have universally realized that great fact, at that precise moment will our Indian Empire, in its original sense, cease to exist. Then, indeed, will the people be able to assert their independence of a foreign yoke, and, no longer suing to us in humble terms, be able to demand the right of taxing themselves and managing their own affairs. Then will the people, who are already beginning to reckon up the millions unjustly extorted from them in former years, and who are already, in the altered tone they have lately adopted, showing a consciousness of power—then will the people demand their rights in full and down to the utmost farthing. And with such a sum at stake shall we dare to resist their demands? And yet to yield to them would be attended with a result to the full as fatal; for every concession would only be followed by fresh demands, and the appetite for power and place would grow with every point we surrendered. And supposing we denied their just demands, can any man fail to see the inevitable result? It might come early, it might come late, but it would surely come at last. We should have a tremendous struggle that would cost us at least 50 millions, while the natives, who will then be able to

see our vital point, will easily, by the destruction of railway works and other property, add another 50 millions to the tale. Out of the contest we should, I believe, rise physically successful; but unless we suppose that the English are foolish enough to advance another 100 millions, and so stake a total of 400 millions, our Indian Empire will simply have disappeared in that grand gulf which finally makes known all lies and all impostures—the grand gulf of bankruptcy.

I have now shown you one of the roads by which you are advancing steadily to bankruptcy. The termination of that road, however, may be distant, and some will no doubt assert that the idea of such a road is a mere dream. Let us grant that it is so, that the people of India are always to be mere children, and that they are never to recognize the meaning of the fact that, generally speaking, money is power. Let us grant all that, and turn our attention to a road to bankruptcy which stands clearly before us. Let me ask what the nature of the security is on which we have lodged our present stake of 200 millions. Well, it is an incontrovertible fact that the whole of this immense sum is balanced, as it were, on the top of a pole, the rottenness of which every one admits as clearly as they do the fact that the moment that prop fails the Indian Empire will be bankrupt beyond hope of recovery, and that prop—that iniquitous prop—is opium; and just as I have never met a man who relies on it, so have I never met a man who can tell me how the Empire, as it at present stands, can exist without it. And it is on the top of this pole that the British people have balanced 200 millions of their money; and by way, I suppose, of making their hold on India more secure, the public here are being led to add another 100 millions to that huge amount.

And is there no way of avoiding those dangers to which, buoying ourselves up with false hopes, and keeping our eyes fast shut, we are so rapidly drifting? Assuredly there is a way. At least one-half of that way lies in the power of the trading interests in this country, and what they should do I have already shown you. But the remainder of the way has yet to be made clear, and something towards that way I hope to contribute before the year is out. It is sufficient that I have endeavoured to accomplish my object here this evening—that I have endeavoured to show what the true interests of Manchester really are in India.

And now, Gentlemen, allow me to say, in conclusion, that I do not one moment suppose that my advice will be accepted; that Manchester will go to the Government, and, speaking in the best interests of both countries, urge it to desist from spending money on works that don't pay, and beg that for the future every effort may be concentrated

on those which are of such vital importance. Were it, indeed, otherwise, and if my advice were listened to, it would be contrary to all our experience in Eastern matters; and just as Sir Arthur Cotton has been termed an enthusiast, and as Mr. James Geddes—who has recommended us to liquidate our Indian affairs as fast as possible—just as he has been called “half crazed,” so must I be prepared for that ridicule and contempt which has generally been showered upon those who have dared to urge the most crying wants of India, or to warn their countrymen of their rapid approach to the greatest danger that can ever overtake the English people. But, Gentlemen, there is one man whom you can neither treat with contempt nor ridicule—the greatest orator in England—John Bright. Thirteen years ago he dimly shadowed forth the way in which India would have her revenge; and that he did not see the writing on the wall more clearly is owing to the fact that no one in England could have foreseen the unparalleled folly which has characterized our government of India in recent years. But that writing which he could but dimly perceive stands clearly before us. With our own hands are we destroying ourselves, and the day is fast coming on when, to borrow the phraseology of that great man, India will be avenged; because the power of her conquerors will have been broken by the intolerable burdens and evils which have been cast on her victim, and because out of those evils will arise a waste of human life and a waste of wealth which England, with all her power, will be unable to bear.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought he ought not to have been invited to take the chair on the present occasion. The reason of his doing so was that at the close of the last sitting of the India Finance Committee Sir Charles Wingfield invited him to preside, owing to his own unavoidable absence, and he added that as the lecture was to be upon the relations of Manchester to India, and as he (the Chairman) felt much interest in Indian affairs, his taking the chair would be appropriate. He therefore accepted the invitation; but, on perusing the lecture just read, he was astonished to find that it was a serious bill of indictment against Manchester, and against all those who have taken part in Indian affairs in the cotton manufacturing districts, charging them with being the ruin of India. Taking, as he had done for many years, in concert with Mr. John Bright and others, an active part in Indian questions, he had been invited to preside at a meeting to listen to a bill of indictment against himself as an accomplice in this dreadful deed. This is the Lecturer's bill of indictment: 1. That “Manchester being entirely ignorant as to “what the capabilities, resources, and requirements of India really are, “pressed the Indian Government to open up the country and push on

“every branch of civilization with the least possible delay.” 2. That “the Manchesterians, while professing to look after the good of the Indian people, like the Directors of the East India Company in days gone by, who, in the same breath, told Warren Hastings to govern leniently and send more money, or, in other words, to be at once the father and the oppressor of the people, said to the Government of India, ‘Look after the good of the people in every way, but for God’s sake send more and better cotton.’ And, ‘indeed, the anxiety of the Government to provide this material was such that they showed an extraordinary liberality in taking the funds of the people, and spending them on cotton farms and cotton Commissioners.’” 3. “That Government, in acting thus, had proved themselves to be the greatest enemy both to the Indians and Manchesterians.” 4. “That in consequence of the well-meaning but misdirected action of Manchester, our power in India is in a great measure gone, and that the remainder of that power is gradually but surely slipping from our grasp.” The Lecturer winds up this statement with the exclamation, “Is this a dream?” “Is it an hallucination?” It appeared to him (the Chairman) to be both the one and the other. The Lecturer says that Manchester is entirely ignorant of what the capabilities of India really are; and there he joined issue with him. So far from Manchester being ignorant upon this point, “the Manchesterians” know more, and are better informed of the capabilities of India than probably any other people; and the reason why they are so is, that they have had superior advantages—first, by being trained by constant struggles with the East India Company in obtaining the abolition of its trading monopoly; secondly, to abolish its political rule; and thirdly, to develop the resources of the country. This led them to avail themselves of their agencies throughout India to obtain information as to its resources, and the best means of developing them. When he was President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, thirty years ago, the Chamber had constant communications from intelligent Englishmen in all parts of India as to the progress and capabilities of the country. Specimens of Indian cotton were frequently sent by gentlemen who had made experiments in its growth, many of them occupying official stations. These specimens of cotton showed that India was capable of producing a superior quality to any which had ever been imported into this country. Manchester was in want of additional sources of supplying her with cotton, and her opinions on this question were expressed in a paper which he had the honour to read before the Society of Arts in 1857, on the question, “How are increased supplies of cotton to be obtained?”—a question which excited considerable interest at the time; and among those present at the lecture, and who

took part in the discussion, were Lord Stanley, Sir John Pakington, and several other distinguished gentlemen. He then said, "It is much to be desired that our supplies of the raw material (cotton) for so great a manufacture should be derived from a variety of sources, that we may, as far as possible, be thus protected from the fluctuations in prices incident to good or bad seasons; but, unfortunately, they are chiefly derived from one source. The imports of cotton into Great Britain last year amounted in round numbers to 900,000,000 pounds, of which 700,000,000 pounds were received from the United States. But not only are we exposed to the danger of being limited chiefly to one source of supply, but to a still greater hazard—viz., that this supply is the production of slave labour. It may be that the institution of slavery, although condemned by all civilized nations, may yet exist for ages in the United States, or it may happen that occurrences may any day endanger its continuance. The alarm created by recent symptoms of discontent among the slaves of that country is evidence that their owners themselves are not without apprehensions of danger, and it is impossible for those interested in the cotton manufactures of this country to contemplate with unconcern the insecurity on which their vast manufacture rests." So that, at all events, credit must be given to "the Manchesterians" for being a far-seeing people. They looked forward to the possibility of their chief source of supply of cotton being, at some time or other, interrupted by the precarious state of slavery in America. Their apprehensions were fully realized, and for seven years Manchester endured great suffering in consequence. Well, what course has Manchester pursued? The case stood thus: Her chief supply of cotton was from America; her manufactures were in constant peril, and she sought safety in additional sources of supply, naturally turning her attention to India—a country under the dominion of the British Crown, and where the cultivation of cotton has existed from the earliest ages. Manchester, however, found the quality of Indian cotton was very inferior, and unsuited to English manufacture; but from specimens which they had received from time to time, it was evident that a greatly superior quality of cotton could be grown. And therefore, in 1848, Mr. Bright, who was then Member for Manchester, moved for a Committee of the House of Commons "to inquire into the growth of cotton in India." He (the speaker) was a member of that Committee, and he was afraid the Lecturer on the present occasion had not taken the means to inform himself of the report which that Committee presented. It contained most valuable information, and showed that the ryots in the cotton districts of India were amongst the most poverty-stricken people on the face of the earth. The report of this Committee says: "They

" are in reality a class of cultivators in the most abject condition. They
 " are indebted to the money-lender or banker of the village for the money
 " wherewith to procure the seed to carry on even the most imperfect
 " cultivation. They give him security for his loan on the growing crops,
 " which at maturity they frequently dispose of to him at prices regulated
 " rather by his will than by the standard of an open market. It is as-
 " serted that the rate of interest paid by these unfortunate ryots is often
 " 40 to 50 per cent." In addition to this, the tenure of land was an
 annual settlement, and every year the collector estimated the value of
 their crops, and decided how much they were to pay, leaving the poor
 ryot just enough to keep body and soul together until the next crop.
 Then, as to the roads, the Committee's report states: " With scarcely
 " an exception, the witnesses concur in describing the means of internal
 " communication throughout India as totally inadequate for the require-
 " ments of commerce; and where roads are formed, great impediments to
 " the communication still exist from the almost entire absence of bridges.
 " The consequence of this deficiency is severely felt, and traffic is con-
 " ducted at an enormous cost of money, labour, and time—produce from
 " the interior being frequently transported hundreds of miles on the
 " backs of bullocks, great damage thereby arising to merchandise, and
 " particularly to cotton, from exposure to wet and from accidents and
 " delays." Then the Committee directed their attention to the best
 mode of remedying these evils, and on this subject further reported:
 " Your Committee have had before them the question of the possibility
 " of introducing railways into India, and the witnesses they have ex-
 " amined are not more unanimous in their description of the lamentable
 " absence of the means of communication which now prevails, than they
 " are in urging the necessity for the formation of railways from the
 " great centres of export and import into the interior of the country. It
 " is impossible to urge too strongly upon all those who are in any
 " way responsible for the management of Indian affairs, the necessity of
 " special and early attention being directed to this important subject."
 One of the witnesses examined before the Committee was Mr. R. W.
 Crawford, the present Member for London, who stated: " That by means
 " of the projected railroad, cotton could be brought to Bombay at 1½d.
 " to 2d. per pound, including cost of cotton and carriage; the carriage
 " alone on bullocks' backs being 1d. per pound." The consequence,
 therefore, of the construction of the railway from Bombay has been to
 enable the ryots to carry their cotton to Bombay at 1d. per pound
 less than the carriage on the backs of bullocks, which 1d. per pound
 they have put into their own pockets, on every pound of the millions
 so carried—a very ruinous business for the ryots! The Lecturer's

second indictment is, that Manchester, while professing to look after the good of the Indian people, sought only to obtain "more and better" cotton."

MR. JONES objected to the Chairman entering thus fully into the subject, and suggested that a Chairman's duty was to hold the balance between parties, and not to express himself on either side.

The CHAIRMAN observed that he, as a "Manchesterian," had been accused of injustice and wrong-doing, and he was not accustomed to show the white feather, but would defend the cause with which he had been associated. Proceeding with his speech, the hon. member observed • that improvements in agriculture in no country spring from the lowest cultivators of the soil, and it was hopeless to expect the growth of better cotton from poverty-stricken ryots. Consequently without those "cotton farms and cotton Commissioners" to which allusion had been made, no improvement could possibly have been accomplished; and no one but the Government could have carried on these experimental farms or have given authority to the Commissioners. As regards the Lecturer's third indictment —

MR. WILLIAM TAYLER interjaculated by asking whether the Chairman, like other speakers, was limited to ten minutes.

The CHAIRMAN said that under ordinary circumstances that limit might be imposed; but this was an exceptional case, and therefore he was entitled to an exceptional time.

MR. ELLIOT said that if this was an "exceptional case," it was the Chairman himself who had so constituted it. The statements which the Chairman imputed to him were not to be found in the lecture.

The CHAIRMAN said he had quoted the Lecturer's own language *verbatim*.

MR. OCHTERLONY thought the Chairman should be limited to ten minutes.

MR. J. T. WOOD expressed similar opinions.

The CHAIRMAN said that if it had not been for those interruptions he would by that time have finished what he desired to say. However, he would take the sense of the meeting as to whether he should go on.

This was then done, and the Chairman declared the result to be that the meeting approved of his proceeding. MR. TAYLER, MR. OCHTERLONY, and MR. ELLIOT, however, desired that their protest might be recorded.

The CHAIRMAN then proceeded to say that the third indictment presented by the Lecturer against Manchester was that Government, in acting in accordance with the suggestions of "Manchesterians," had proved themselves to be the greatest enemies both to India and to Manchester. His (the Chairman's) own opinion was directly the reverse of this, for he

believed the Government by acting thus had proved themselves the greatest benefactors of India and of Manchester. What had been the result of this policy to the ryots? Why, that in the cotton districts the annual settlement has been abolished; a secure tenure of land had been established; the railroad from Bombay has been made for the chief export of their produce. The best evidence of the success of this policy is the general improvement in the condition and content of the people. The railroad has rendered the cost of the carriage of cotton 1d. per lb. cheaper, which the ryot puts in his own pocket. The ryots have been able to emancipate themselves from debt, and witnesses examined have stated, as evidence of the prosperity of the ryots, that their women are covered with silver ornaments—a good test of Indian comfort. What were the panaceas proposed by the Lecturer? He tells us to establish forests, as if that were a novelty. But the fact was that it had been long known and confirmed by scientific men, that forests are influential agents in attracting rain. And the Government have adopted the recommendation, and have established a forestal establishment, and have sent young men to be trained in the forests of Germany, and France, for the special purpose of qualifying them to preserve and extend the forests of India. Last year the expenditure under the head of forests was nearly 400,000*l*. Then the Lecturer announces that irrigation would be a good thing; but he appears to be ignorant, that Manchester has always urged it, as a most essential means of developing the resources of the country. Manchester has always contended that the obstacles which prevent the development of the resources of India are: 1. The want of irrigation. 2. The want of roads and cheap conveyance. 3. The want of a secure tenure of land. 4. The want of just and well-administered laws, and an efficient police. A third panacea for the ills of India, urged by the Lecturer, is the establishment of public granaries; but for himself, he could not conceive a greater danger to a people than to rely upon a Government instead of themselves for supplies of food.

Mr. TAYLER here reiterated his objections to the course adopted by the Chairman.

Mr. JONES observed that if this was a specimen of Manchester authority, the less they had of it the better.

A conversation ensued, in the course of which the sense of the meeting was again taken on the question whether the Chairman should proceed. On this occasion the vote was adverse, and the Chairman said he would bow to that decision, although he must confess he thought, under the circumstances, he was very unjustly treated.

The DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN (Acting Hon. Sec.) said by the

rules of the Association the Chairman usually reserved his remarks until the close of the meeting, although, of course, he had the right to exercise his discretion in speaking when he chose. Further, it was understood that, except in special cases when gentlemen of experience, weight, and fame, addressed the Association, speakers should be limited to ten minutes each; and he ventured to express a hope that this rule—which was framed in the general interests of all—would be observed on the present occasion.

Mr. JOHN JONES said he had not intended to speak at so early a period of the discussion, but as he had been prominent in desiring the observation of a rule, he would now take the opportunity of expressing his surprise that Mr. Elliot had attributed to Manchester the whole responsibility for the present financial condition of India. Manchester was not England, although there has been felt of late in the political world an authority attaching to Manchester which seemed to him to be utterly disproportionate to its merits; and they had had one Prime Minister and an ex-Prime Minister lately selecting Manchester as the platform on which to utter their opinions and projects of statesmanship. It was these facts which had doubtless led the Lecturer to entertain the idea that Manchester is the centre of power. But he must repeat his surprise that Mr. Elliot had given such prominence to Manchester, unless it be in satire on the passiveness of the people of England in relation to India; for it must be admitted that Manchester had a large share in the transference of power from those whom he believed to be the wisest governors of India, to those whom he believed formed the worst possible Government that any nation on the face of the earth could suffer under; for that was what he firmly believed to be the just estimate of the present system under which the people of India are ruled. When the people of Manchester were attempting to destroy the East India Company and that system under which it ruled, they came to a friend of his and asked him to go with them to Lord Palmerston as a deputation, and one of the points they were going to urge upon the noble lord was that the people of England ought to be allowed to hold land in India. These were the intelligent people of whom the Chairman was a representative! But when they urged his friend to accompany them and assist them, he replied, "I can't go with you, for I hold as much land in India as I pay 30,000*l.* a-year for as rent." So meagre was that information of which the Chairman boasts, while so bitter was their opposition to the power that thwarted their will upon India. During Lord Palmerston's Government Lord Shaftesbury used to excite the people, and disturb their religious sentiments in respect to the opium trade, for Lord Palmerston was more or less an instrument in the hands

of the Manchester school. The consequence was that the British public were treated annually to a homily from Lord Shaftesbury on the iniquity of the opium trade, and the East India Company largely felt the censure of the people of England which was aroused by these speeches. But ever since the opium trade had been placed in the hands of the Queen, "the iniquitous opium trade" has been a dead letter in the mind of Lord Shaftesbury, and neither he nor Manchester have ever spoken a word against its use, nor have they been able to see any of that crime in reference to the revenue derived from opium, which they could so plainly see while India was in the hands of the East India Company. He believed that Manchester and its school have done as much mischief to India as it is possible for one people to do to another. He remembered being in that very room a few years ago, when the Government of India, for the purpose of improving their revenue, proposed to put a 10 per cent. tax upon cotton goods. Down came the Manchester men, and ardently urged the impropriety of a 10 per cent. tax unless there was an excise duty put upon the Bombay cotton mills, so that they should not be able to make goods to the prejudice of the Manchester people. And the Chairman himself was one of these people. Manchester had actively used the marvellous combinations of mechanical power which the genius of inventors had placed before her. The revelations of genius, however, had no nationality, but were gifts to the human race. In the production of cheap cotton goods she had been assisted by the wasteful system of exhausting land and then moving to new plantations, practised by the landholders of the Southern States, by the compulsory labour of slaves securing a large production, and on this side by the obligations which, in a redundant population, urged men to accept the severities of coal mining at a moderate rate of pay, and to surrender in the factories the hopes of independence which once belonged to the skilled artisans of England. These were the combining causes which enabled the energy of which Manchester is notoriously possessed, to destroy the local cotton-spinning of the natives of India. It is well known and admitted that manufactures are a more profitable source of wealth to a nation than agriculture. Agriculture from the earliest times has been of the least benefit for those who have engaged in it, and an agricultural nation can never expect to accumulate wealth like a country which lives by its manufactures. Manchester, then, by the ability which has been placed in its hands, and by a concurrence of circumstances over which it has had no control, has obtained an authority with the Government of India, and has used it to promote agriculture, to the discouragement of manufactures and the destruction of the local cotton trade of India; and a more mischievous thing for any

country than the destruction of home manufactures cannot be imagined. Invasion might be a source of harm, but it passed away, while the destruction of an industry is a permanent evil. Manchester, therefore, owed some compensation to India, which she might endeavour to repay by carrying her wealth to India, and in residence compensating by her counsels for the injury she has inflicted by her trade. The question, too, of irrigation, is a most important one, as the Lecturer had shown, but not so important as the production of coal in India; for, in consequence of the meagre supplies of fuel, the natives burn that manure which should be used to fertilize their lands—one of the most fatal causes of the poor nature of the soil. By utilizing the coal-fields of India, and by encouraging the establishment of large forests, the necessity for burning manure would no longer exist, and it could be used for its legitimate purposes. But until some such means are taken he did not think it likely that there would be a much larger production than at present, even if those means were adopted which were urged by the Lecturer.

Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, M.P., said that it had been stated that the rule of the East India Association was to allow ten minutes to a speaker, unless he happens to be one of special Indian experience—a claim which he did not put forward. He should therefore confine himself to the time allotted, and in the first place should state that he had heard the lecture with very deep interest. He thought that if they were to name one sentence as being the text of the lecture, it would be the old saying of Pindar—*ἀπὸ τοῦ περ ὕδατος* ("water is best"). His own experience of the Tropics was not very great, but he had travelled in various countries of that region, and he quite agreed with the view of the Lecturer in describing their great want to be water. The Lecturer had certainly brought a somewhat heavy indictment against what he called "the Manchesterians," by which he understood him to mean those capitalists of this country who, having money to spend and wanting a secure investment, naturally looked to India to furnish them with a proper field. Had these capitalists been left to the exercise of their own discretion—a discretion which is their especial characteristic in their dealings elsewhere—he could not doubt they would have promoted such schemes as would have been influential in aiding the prosperity and advancement of India, because it would have been to their own interests to do so. But the fact has been that the great mass of British capital expended in India has been laid out upon guaranteed railroads; and it appeared to him that this practice had been most disastrous in its effects, both upon India and England. One of the great wants of India has always been the establishment of efficient means of communication, but

it appeared clear to him that India was not the country whose characteristics would authorize the construction of railways built upon the same plan as those of Europe. He thought they should be of a lighter and more inexpensive kind. The British people in India were very much like an absentee landlord whose tenant possesses a poor farm, which he manages to cultivate with great difficulty, owing to the ungrateful nature of the soil, and out of which he but just contrives to procure an existence and pay the rent. His landlord, accustomed to the fertile lowlands of another clime, fancies that his tenant does not avail himself of modern improvements with sufficient eagerness, and compels him to purchase steam ploughs, thrashing-machines, and to build farm steadings, upon the most approved principles of modern theoretic agriculture. For these real or supposed improvements the landlord has furnished the capital, but has insisted, if not on the repayment of the capital he has advanced, at least on a large amount of interest in addition to the rent previously paid. As the rent originally was paid only with extreme difficulty, it was apparent that the additional burden, which had brought no corresponding benefit, could only result in bankruptcy to the tenant. At the present time there were two hundred millions sterling invested by British capitalists in Indian securities, and of this capital sum hardly one halfpenny is really recoverable, while as bearing interest it cannot be called a remunerative investment—that is, it does not produce a commercial profit, although the interest is regularly paid upon it. This interest, of course, has to be raised by taxation from the people of India, and it appeared to him that they are exactly in the position of the tenant who has to pay for an improvement which he does not require, and which his farm cannot support. The Lecturer had pointed out that if the returns he had made were true—and they had every appearance of truth—we could anticipate with certainty the end to which we were approaching; that is, we could name the *superior* limit beyond which this state of things cannot go on, although we cannot say how much sooner the catastrophe may come. The fact is that our one great danger in India is the difficulty of finance. He did not believe in the military danger; the British Government have no enemy to fear, either within or without, that need give rise to serious anxiety, further than the loss of valuable lives and a certain addition to the Indian debt. But those who have the control of the finances of India should now be made to understand that in the long period during which we have governed India we have not developed its resources, nor made it richer, while we have continued steadily to increase its debt; and hence a radical change in the method of administration must take place. We must put an end to those costly and splendid works which, however well adapted to a

country like our own, are unsuited to a poor country like India; and we must turn our attention and our capital to those humbler, though more immediately useful, labours of irrigation, and the establishment of forests, to which the Lecturer had directed the attention of the meeting. One important fact upon which the Lecturer laid stress did not appear to have received sufficient attention. It is not sufficiently understood in England that India is in reality one of the poorest countries on the face of the earth, and those resources which British capital was to develop have hardly any real existence. Coal had been alluded to; but India had no coal except of an inferior kind, and limited in quantity, while its uncultivated soil was restricted in extent, and poor in quality. In conclusion, the hon. Member for South Ayrshire urged that British capitalists and British statesmen should at once divest themselves of the old-fashioned belief that India is a country of boundless wealth and vast undeveloped resources.

Colonel MEDLEY, R.E., said that as one who had spent twenty years of his life in India, and who was a sincere friend to the country, he must own that the Lecturer appeared to have ascribed a far larger share to Manchester in the affairs of India than the facts seemed to justify. It was not, he supposed, pretended that Manchester was actuated by any feeling of pure philanthropy in what it had done; on the contrary, it was probably influenced by business motives, arising from the fact that it had been forced to look to India for a supply of cotton when the usual source of supply had been cut off, owing to the American war. The ground-work of any action of Manchester in respect to India had been purely selfish, and he did not consider that India had any great cause for gratitude towards Manchester on that account. As regards the Lecturer's panacea for all the evils of India—viz., water—he would be the last man to disparage the useful results or the importance of good irrigation, inasmuch as he had, as an engineer, been called upon to study the question of irrigation works in India; and he had both written and said a good deal on the subject. But in regarding this question of irrigation there are considerations which are too often lost sight of; and it seemed to be thought that because you can increase the produce of the soil by irrigation, therefore irrigation should be at once applied everywhere. Those who viewed the matter thus omitted to consider the fact that, although the area of irrigation might be indefinitely enlarged and the produce proportionately increased, it would, unless the crops can be consumed by the growers, or there are facilities of transport to other districts, be useless and ruinous as a speculation. Agricultural countries, it was well known, were, as a rule, poor, and manufacturing countries rich—i.e., speaking broadly, high prices and high wages meant riches, and

low prices and low wages, poverty; and, moreover, it was remarkable that wherever agriculture is carried on without trouble, the population, as a rule, is weak and effeminate; but where it is carried on with difficulty, and man has, as it were, to wrest from nature her produce, there the population is hardy and vigorous. Anyone who contrasted the people of Southern Italy and Scotland, or of Bengal and the Punjab, would see how much agriculture had to do with national characteristics. One of the greatest necessities in India was undoubtedly a cheap transport, and Sir Arthur Cotton had earned the gratitude of all interested in India by the persistency with which he has urged this view. Contrary to what had been said, he firmly believed that the railways had been of incalculable benefit to India, although it is perfectly true that the difference between the revenue and the guaranteed interest is a heavy tax upon the country. But by taking a similar instance of another kind it would be seen that this loss was more of figures than of fact. The instance to which he would allude was the Ganges Canal. For many years it did not pay the interest on its capital, and it was, financially speaking, a dead loss to the Government. But when this was represented to experienced officers, they replied that it was not as a commercial speculation, but as an insurance, that the interest on this undertaking was cheerfully paid—an insurance on the land revenue of the country. And they were right, for without the canal the whole land revenue of the Gangetic Doab would be held by a precarious tenure; and this was forcibly proved when, in a single year of famine, the existence of the canal saved the produce of a million and a half of acres, which otherwise would have been destroyed, and the whole revenue from which would have been lost to the Government. Works of this kind, therefore, while in one sense they are a loss to the revenue, are in another a gain, seeing that they increase and tend to secure the produce of the country, and, by indirectly enriching the people, enable them to bear increased taxation. Hence he believed that the real care of the Indian Government should be not to diminish the expenditure in this respect, but rather to increase it until transport is everywhere easy and cheap, whether by road, rail, or water; and until that is done India cannot be expected to pay. It should not, however, be forgotten that, even under present circumstances, the revenue of India has been something like doubled in a very few years, and that this enormous additional taxation has been borne—with a certain amount of complaint, perhaps, but still borne—by the people, who are, at the same time, more prosperous, and better fed and clad, than before. This is beyond denial. When the Ameer of Cabul came to see Lord Mayo at the Durbar of Umballa, he said that the one thing that struck him most, since he last visited India,

was that the people "seemed fatter," and were more contented—an independent testimony which was not without its value. In common with a speaker who had preceded him, he entertained no fear of a military crisis; but they had more to fear from the wide-spread disaffection of the population. A general feeling of discontent would undoubtedly endanger the British rule in India, and for that reason he could not help thinking that the continued retention of so unpopular an imposition as the income-tax—a tax which had been universally condemned by the most experienced officers as one which produced a minimum of revenue with a maximum of discontent—was a serious mistake. Still, in talking of disaffection, we should remember that more was now heard of local grievances and discontent, simply because, owing to the spread of education, a public opinion was forming which before had no existence, or, if it had existence, had no means of expression. Hence grievances which fifty years ago were unknown, now came to the surface. But as a disease which came to the surface was better than an internal disease, so the ventilation of these complaints was beneficial rather than otherwise to the State, and as such they should be welcomed. All praise was, therefore, due to the Indian Government for their magnificent system of education; and when the shortcomings of the British rule in India are considered, the great work which they are pressing forward in this respect should be put on the other side of the scale. In conclusion, he might add that he shared the opinions of those who had spoken in praise of the East India Company; and he felt bound to say that its government, at any rate in the latter part of its *régime*, was influenced by the highest and most honourable motives.

Mr. HUGH MASON (President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce) said that so far as he understood the indictment of the Lecturer against Manchester, he accused Manchester of two sins of commission and one sin of omission. He accused Manchester of having prompted the Government to squander its money in the creation and in the employment of a new class of officials, termed Cotton Commissioners. He also accused Manchester of having largely been the means of causing a great amount of capital to be sunk upon the railroads of India, and he accused Manchester of having omitted to encourage works of irrigation in India. Now, he thought the Lecturer was greatly mistaken in almost everything that he had said to the disadvantage of Manchester. So far as he himself had been concerned—and the Chairman would be aware he had been largely concerned—in pressing upon the various Governments of India the necessity of attending to the mutual wants and necessities of both the home country and of India, he could affirm that Manchester had been accused most wrongfully. With respect to the accusation

that Manchester had failed to promote works of irrigation, he would bring Sir Arthur Cotton to give evidence; and Sir Arthur Cotton would tell the Lecturer that no community had given him greater support in advancing those special views, of which he is the distinguished advocate, for works of irrigation in India, so much as the community of Manchester. Sir Arthur Cotton has stated this verbally, and he has repeated it in print. Many a time had he (the speaker) formed part of a deputation to various Governments, in order to urge most emphatically upon the Executive the necessity for borrowing money for the purpose of employing it in what they had always termed reproductive works—that is, works of irrigation in India. He was quite conscious of the fact that in going to Government in this manner they had been alive to the interests of the great cotton industry, which, if judged by the amount of capital invested in it, and the number of people who are employed by it, is an industry of imperial concern. Manchester has always thought, so far as its knowledge has extended—and that knowledge has been considerably increased by the fact that they have sent out at their own cost more than one intelligent man to travel the length and breadth of the country, and to bring back information—Manchester had always thought that the great want of India was efficient works of irrigation, and they had done everything they possibly could to impress upon the Government the necessity of turning its attention specially to the development of works of that nature for India. If he had had a little notice of the topic and discussion on the present occasion, he would have prepared himself to fortify his position by adducing facts; but the short notice he had received disabled him from quoting authorities in support of his statements. Were it not for this, he thought he could prove from public records what he had just now said, on behalf of Manchester, with respect to the promotion of works of irrigation in India; so that upon that point the Lecturer was grossly in error. With respect to the Cotton Commissioners, he believed Manchester had been the means of the appointment of Mr. Rivett Carnac, specially to supervise the cultivation of cotton in India. But what had been the expense connected with the payment of this official? It had been most trifling, when it is considered that in one year Lancashire paid 38,000,000*l.* for Indian cotton, and that during the past eight years the average payments were certainly not less than 23,000,000*l.* yearly; and that we have ascertained that India, if wisely directed, is capable of producing a much superior quality of cotton than the staple she has previously produced. Seeing all this, Manchester had urged the Government to appoint one or two gentlemen of high intelligence to give their special attention

to that branch of Indian agriculture. So that he thought Manchester was not amenable to any very severe charge in that she had invited the Government to spend that very small trifle of the revenue of the country upon what they had good reason to believe has contributed very much to promote the welfare of India and its permanent prosperity. That amount which had been expended had been but a mere trifle, which scarcely deserved to be noticed. With respect to the development of railways in India, Manchester had gone for years to the various Secretaries of State for India, and exerted every means to discourage them to the utmost of its power from spending capital upon the railroads of India which successive Governments of India had done. So that, in fact, Manchester, instead of being a party to that expenditure, should be regarded as being opposed to it. Manchester has said that India must follow the example of the home country, in the creation of its highways for transit and for traffic; and that, whereas in this country we began by using highways and river-ways, and afterwards proceeded to the development of the railway system, so Manchester has always urged the Indian Government that a similar course should be followed in developing the trade and commerce of India. And if Manchester has said a single word in the promotion of railways, it has been in support of light railways—railways built for light engines and light rolling stock—which are adapted for the hilly regions, and which are inexpensive in their construction. Manchester has always said that the Indian Government, in spending money upon works of this kind, was influenced far more by military reasons than by commercial considerations, and that the debt of India has been increased by money being spent upon vast barracks and upon railways constructed for strategic and warlike purposes. Manchester has told the Government constantly that, in her humble judgment, the Government has failed in adopting the right means for the governing of India, because of the way in which, to a large extent, the resources of India have been wasted upon endless railways and barracks, and other non-productive public works. Now Manchester, and Lancashire generally, have received nothing from India but what they have paid for, and if they have encouraged the growth of cotton to a large extent, they have done so without displacing the growth of corn or rice, or any other product. They have brought no corn out of India, nor extracted any riches from that country, without ample compensation; and one means of judging of this and of the welfare of the people of India, as in any other country, is the test of wages among the common people. Now in India the wages of the common people have considerably advanced, and their means of augmenting their comforts have in like manner increased. Any gentleman who knows anything of India knows

that during the last few years the wages of the ryots have immensely increased in India, and no better test can be afforded of the well-being of the people than this permanent and general advance, which ranges from 50 to 100 per cent. or more upon what was previously obtained. He was quite aware that Sir Thomas Bazley—and a better friend to India did not exist—had warned the Government against taxing the cottons of Lancashire when sent to India; but he has done so on these grounds, that the Government ought not to raise its taxation by placing duties upon the clothing of the poorest of the people, but that the revenue of India ought to be raised in the same manner as the taxation of this country or of any civilized country—viz., from the land and the wealth of the people; and that the necessities of the people and their clothing are the last things that should be taxed. He was sorry that Sir Thomas Bazley was not present that night, because he was well posted up in Indian affairs; and for himself he might add, that had he known the character of the lecture (for which he must express his hearty thanks to Mr. Elliot), he would have been a little more prepared than he had now been to support his own views by facts and arguments. But if Mr. Elliot would do him the honour of accepting his hospitality in Manchester on any future occasion, he would be happy to show him how erroneous were the views he held; and if Mr. Elliot possessed, as he believed he did, an inquiring and intelligent mind, he would go away from Lancashire with opinions very different from those to which he had given expression that night.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, late Commissioner of Patna, apologized to the Chairman for what might have appeared discourtesy at the early part of the discussion, but it had appeared to him that the Chairman, with whose name and abilities they were all acquainted, was overlooking the position he occupied by entering into an antagonistic discussion at so early a period of the evening. The Lecturer had placed before them an exceedingly important and interesting lecture, but unfortunately he had employed certain expressions which bore the appearance of a personal attack upon Manchester. He had hoped, however, that these expressions would have been passed over as adding piquancy to the lecture; and he had no idea that the feeling of Manchester was so strong and aggressive as to take up this minor point to the neglect of the weighty, comprehensive, and vital question which in reality was the main subject of the lecture. Viewing the matter thus, he thought it was not quite fair that the discussion should be conducted in such a way as to drive the more important topic out of the field. The tendency of their meetings was perhaps too frequently to depart from the real question before them; now the real question placed before them, in an extremely fresh

and lively manner, by the present Lecturer, was *the basis of civilized administration*, which he most justly and righteously showed is *the safety of life*. However interesting, therefore, might be the addresses upon Manchester, and its interests, actions, and ideas, in respect to India, he could not help regretting that the main point of the lecture had been forgotten. The Lecturer had arraigned the Government of India, and when the Lecturer named Manchester, he evidently used it as a personification of the trading interests of England; and in the strictures upon it he meant to say that Manchester had been somewhat inconsiderate in urging its views upon the British Government in India. If, as had been stated by the preceding speaker, Manchester had always advocated irrigation and discouraged the reckless expenditure upon railways, it was a gratifying statement; and if true, it would give great satisfaction to a great many friends of India, who, though tolerably well-informed, had entertained quite a different opinion on the subject. But, setting aside the Manchester question, and reverting to the fundamental and important subject raised by Mr. Elliot—namely, that the safety of life is the basis of civilized administration, or, as he would rather say, civilized and successful government—he would express his entire agreement with him; because, unless we can secure the safety of life to the people whose interests the Almighty has committed to our charge—safety which would enable them to cultivate their land and acquire property in security—the very foundation of advancement is wanting, and all our boasted improvements will be ineffective. This, then, was the great question which had been swamped by the Manchester episode, and he would repeat his great regret that the attention of the meeting had been turned away upon this less important issue. He was delighted to observe that the Lecturer had introduced a question upon which he himself had long been labouring to arouse attention—namely, that water is the life of India. Indeed, he might re-echo the exclamation of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, and cry, "Water, water everywhere." Upon water mainly depended the well-being of the people. If the people could not cultivate their land, they might have great railways, they might have intelligent members of Council, they might have new laws and new taxation; but the Government would never really effect any amelioration unless the people were able to earn their subsistence, and to fill their stomachs. Water is pre-eminently *the want of India*—water to enable the agriculturalist to obtain his crop with certainty, to support his family, and to pay that taxation imposed upon him. This is what the Government of India should endeavour to secure, instead of spending millions upon railways, which have no great utility except for military purposes, and which

increase the burdens of the people.' If one quarter of the amount which has been spent in railways had been expended in developing good irrigation works, the Government would not, as now, have a disaffected and irritated people groaning under new taxation which they are unable to support, and viewing the administration of the British Government as a curse instead of a blessing.

A suggestion to adjourn the discussion was then made by Mr. BRIGGS, and duly seconded; but the DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN pointed out that if the adjournment took place the discussion could not be resumed until a very late period of the session, in consequence of the Association's programme being fixed in fortnightly meetings. He therefore suggested, that the usual hour for the termination of the meeting should be somewhat extended on the present occasion; and this was accordingly resolved upon *nem. con.*

Mr. HOWARD, of Stockport, said that as Manchester was not very strongly represented at the meeting, he would venture to rise to confirm every word which had fallen from Mr. Mason in respect to what Manchester had urged regarding irrigation in India; and to say that she has always contended that by the development of water resources, by suitable manures, and by the application of the best modes of agriculture, the natives of India could bring up the produce of their land to something like the produce of America, so that corn need not be displaced by cotton.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY said he proposed to drop Manchester and to allude merely to the great question whether the course the English Government were pursuing was likely to lead to financial difficulty. He would draw their attention to the extreme gravity of the question, far more grave than it would have been in former times, when the East India Company acquired rule at their own expense, and without calling upon the English people for any expenditure. At that time the East India Company had, at the peril of its own existence, to make both ends meet, and he could not but think that a great error had been committed in sweeping away that financial safeguard. Another error had been committed—the introduction of a principle of finance which had been productive of the greatest evils—viz., that of carrying on public works by means of guaranteed companies. A company that had no guaranteed interest is compelled to exert itself to make its speculation pay; but a company secured in getting 5 per cent. from the Government has no such incentive. He viewed it as a most unfortunate circumstance that the public works of India had not been undertaken either by unguaranteed companies or by the Government itself. Some kinds of public works, such as railways constructed for military

reasons, might have been done by the Government themselves; and in the field of irrigation, seeing that the safety of the life of the people and the general prosperity of the country depended upon it, the Government should have themselves determined to execute the works upon their own responsibility, answering to the Parliament of England for their expenditure. But the present hybrid system combined the disadvantages of both methods, and if persevered in, will have the most fatal consequences. The consequences of bankruptcy in India would be very different now from what they would have been whilst India was in the hands of a company. It is quite true that the loans of the Indian Government are charged solely upon the revenue of that country, and, according to the law, the revenue of England is not liable for them. But they must all feel that it was not possible for the Government of England to be solvent in England and insolvent in India; and that if a financial exigency should occur in India, the English Chancellor of the Exchequer would have to come to the rescue. The bankruptcy of India, therefore, meant the bankruptcy of England, and entertaining these views, he trusted that the discussions which are conducted by the East India Association would result in developing some higher method of government than had prevailed in India, that the welfare and prosperity of India would be looked after more thoroughly, and that the principles of justice would be more strictly upheld; for, unless some rectification took place, they might anticipate with certainty the catastrophe which is apprehended, and that catastrophe would indeed be mischievous to India, but it would be ruinous to England.

Mr. JOSEPH LEESE pointed out that while the Lecturer and others found great fault with the large amount of money expended on railways, he unfortunately recommended a policy which would involve a much larger expenditure, for the purpose of covering the land with forests, great systems of irrigation, and State granaries. The last of these schemes would certainly be opposed by most political economists, as being beyond the province of Government. Perhaps Mr. Elliot would explain how the money for the execution of public works is to be provided, for if he fails to show how this can be done, his paper is valueless. This difficulty is the great bar to all progress in India, and prevents the rapid introduction of our various forms of civilization. If the people of India are too poor to provide their own much-needed public works, and the present system of borrowing money from English capitalists is limited, the question of ways and means is certainly one of the most important that can engage the attention of all those who desire to promote the interests of our great dependency.

Mr. JAMES T. WOOD (Secretary of the Eastern Bengal Railway)

said that, connected as he was with the railways of India, he ventured to deny the wild assertions that millions of money had been wasted in the railways. The real fact was that the capital raised was under 100,000,000*l.*, and a great deal of the interest paid on it had been paid on capital not yet become remunerative, and which interest might fairly have been added to the cost of construction; and even then the actual sum now alleged to be paid does not exceed 2,000,000*l.* per annum, being 4 per cent. of the taxation of India, and paid as the price of the great benefits conferred by the railways. A practical examination of the question would show that the railways of India were, many of them, especially the great link connecting Calcutta with Bombay, earning between 4 and 5 per cent. As to the general improvement in the condition of India, that could not be doubted, and for this the best criterion—as had been pointed out by other speakers—was the increase of wages. The paymaster now occupies, to a great extent, the position formerly held by the usurer; and large private companies, and even individuals, employ as many as 10,000 ryots without requiring any Mutiny Act or enforced law of contract to keep them to their bargains, but upon a voluntary system. He had heard, in that room, the rulers of India called strongly to account, and the most emphatic condemnation was sometimes passed upon the Government; and yet it was admitted by those who spoke that the Indian service was in the highest degree an honourable one, and that the example set by the lives of the public servants of the Government of India was such as to greatly aid in the security of the English rule. And this suggested the opinion which he held, and which had been previously expressed by others in that room, that our connection with India did not depend, for its permanence, on physical force, but on the confidence felt by ourselves and the peoples of India that the same security for liberty, life, and property that exists in this country is extended to India by our rule, and that there, as here, the same high standard of moral and intellectual qualifications will insure respect and lead to success.

Mr. ELLIOT said he would not bore the meeting at that late hour with any extended reply, and in reference to the episode which occurred in the early part of the discussion, he would say, with the French, that "Where all is known, all is forgiven." If the Manchester speakers had known what he meant, they would certainly not have felt themselves so aggrieved; for by Manchester he meant the general trading interests of the country. The hon. member who occupied the chair was in error in attributing to him the statement that Manchester, while professing to serve the interests of India, was only desirous of serving her own. Mr. Mason—whose invitation to Manchester he had great pleasure in accepting—seemed to be under the impression that he had stated that

Manchester had opposed irrigation. What he did say was that Manchester urged a great many things simultaneously, and that, as there was no money to carry out everything at once, there had not been nearly the amount spent on irrigation that there should have been. The hour was too late to attempt to analyze the speeches in detail, and he would therefore say no more, except to express his regret that any misunderstanding should have arisen, and his thanks to the meeting for the attention and interest they had shown in the subject he had laid before them.

The CHAIRMAN said it would be unnecessary for him to detain the meeting, seeing that Colonel Medley had to a large extent anticipated the remarks he should have made had he not been interrupted. The principles recommended by Manchester of making reproductive public works by means of loans were as sound, as applied to India, as they have been found to be in England. The Corporation of the city of Manchester are the owners of the water and the gas works of that city, and the cost of these works has been defrayed without a farthing being drawn from the pockets of the inhabitants; for the works were constructed by loans raised on the credit of the city, and the profits are sufficient to pay the interest and leave a considerable surplus for a sinking fund for the redemption of the debt. The docks of Liverpool, the finest in the world, were constructed in a similar manner, and have cost the people of Liverpool nothing; and although both these cities have incurred a considerable debt, no one would say they are in a state of bankruptcy, because they cannot immediately realize the money which has been sunk in their public works. Seeing these facts, Manchester placed them before the Indian Government, and pointed out that it was in their power to follow a similar course, instead of making public works, as had hitherto been done, out of surplus revenue, which resulted in delays like that of the construction of the Ganges Canal, which, because there were many years when the Government had no surplus revenue to spare, took thirty years to construct. Ten years ago it might have been urged of canals what the Lecturer urges of railways, "Lay out no more money in canals; they are unprofitable, and will never yield a return." But the Ganges Canal now yields 7 per cent. per annum on the outlay, and has more than repaid its cost in averting a famine. He quite agreed with what had been said respecting the extravagant expenditure upon railways in India, and evidence had been given before the Indian Finance Committee, now sitting, showing that they had cost considerably more than they ought to have done. Nevertheless, he did not take such despondent views regarding these railways as some who had addressed the meeting; and he did not believe that India was in a state

of bankruptcy in consequence of the 200,000,000*l.* she owed. Those railways whose construction had been urged by Manchester—viz., those leading from shipping ports into the interior of India—are even now paying. The East India Railway is capable of paying the interest on the capital expended, and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway is anticipated this year to do the same. Manchester cannot be held responsible for the unremunerative character of the railways constructed for political purposes, but those she has recommended cannot be said to have been unsuccessful. He did not despair of India. It took a long time before public works were productive in India—longer than in many other countries. A railway could not be productive unless traffic was promoted by good roads, and hence the best way of improving the traffic receipts would be to improve the roads of India. At any rate, there was one fact patent, in spite of the dismal prognostications of the Lecturer, and which those who held India to be in a state of bankruptcy could not gainsay. He challenged them to point to a single period of past Indian history when life and property were equally secure, and where the condition of the great mass of the people was as prosperous, as at the present moment. In conclusion, he expressed a wish that Indian reformers would turn their attention to the more practical questions affecting the government of India, and, by pointing out the errors which have been committed in the past, endeavour to suggest practical remedies for the future. It was a vast question, and required to be looked at in a wider view than through the pinhole from which the Lecturer had surveyed it.

A vote of thanks to the Lecturer was then accorded, on the motion of Sir DAVID WEDDERBURN, M.P., seconded by Mr. WM. TAYLER; and a similar vote to the Chairman was passed, on the motion of Mr. P. P. GORDON, seconded by the DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN.

The proceedings terminated with a vote of thanks to the Society of Arts for the use of their room, passed on the motion of Mr. P. M. TAIT, seconded by Mr. J. T. ZORN.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, MAY 21, 1872.

E. B. EASTWICK, Esq., C.B., M.P., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.,

IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Dr. GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

On Competition and the Indian Civil Service.

THE CHAIRMAN, after some preliminary observations ascribing the comparatively small attendance to the fact that this was holiday season and beautiful weather, observed that although it was his usual custom when occupying the chair to reserve his remarks till the close of the meeting, he desired to make a few observations at the present time, because he would probably be obliged to leave before the termination of the meeting. Those present would be aware that the question of competitive examinations in the Indian Service, which was to be introduced by Dr. Birdwood, was one which had been before the public very prominently for some time past; and theoretically, he supposed, everyone would be willing to admit that the principle of competition was a right thing. "Detur meliori" was a maxim everybody would be likely to accept as just and equitable. The picture, in fact, was very clear and bright when viewed at a little distance; but a closer examination of it would show that there were blemishes in it of a very serious kind. In the first place, competitive examinations could hardly test all the qualities it was desirable to find in a candidate. A man might be examined in algebra, mathematics, and languages, and pass with credit, but it would be no criterion of his moral character, and consequently no complete examination of his fitness for the public service; neither was it a criterion of a man's physical qualifications for office; and hence it very frequently happened that a man who had been exceedingly well up in his scholastic reading was not so good a man as one who, though behind him in scholarship, excelled him in other respects. Then, too, there was little doubt that the principle of competitive examination tended to engender that spirit which induced a man to regard his appointment as a right—a state of feeling which made him not so manageable in the public service, and not looking at it with so kindly a view as one who received an appointment as a gift was accustomed to

do. Moreover, there was the fact that the candidates at competitive examinations were men who were brought together promiscuously—"a fortuitous concourse of atoms," as it were—who had never met before, and who did not consequently amalgamate so well as those who had been educated at college in association with each other. Despite all this, however, it should not be forgotten that some of the greatest authorities and ablest men had expressed themselves in favour of the principle of competitive examinations; for instance, Lord Derby, for whose opinion he had the greatest respect, and who was entitled to have great weight in such a matter. In conclusion, the Chairman observed that he had offered these cursory remarks as what might occur to anyone's mind, and in entire ignorance of the view of the subject which was to be taken by Dr. Birdwood, on the question being broached, and he hoped that the topic would be thoroughly and usefully discussed.

Dr. GEORGE BIRDWOOD then proceeded to deliver the following address:—

I have for a long time given my consideration to the system of Competitive Examination, more especially as it affects appointments to the Indian Services. I have written much upon the subject; and some of you may possibly have read elsewhere a good deal of what I have written to read here to-day. It is impossible for me to say anything better on the general question of competition for the public service than that which was said by the late Sir George Cornwall Lewis: "Look to the point and paces of your steed, but do not rest the choice of a coach-horse on the issue of a race, for the simple reason that we do not want racers in harness;" or again, than Lord Stanhope's saying: "It is of far more importance to have the mind well disciplined than richly stored, strong rather than full." Still, the necessity for obeying these precepts in appointing to the public service, particularly to the Indian Services, cannot be too often enforced. I am an unfeigned advocate of competition, but it must be thorough—inspired by the honest, intelligent, and deliberate resolution to secure the best men for the work wanted of them—searching out, and finding, without risk of failure, the special qualifications needed in each and every special case—and not a half-hearted, reckless expedient merely for ridding the responsible Ministers of State of the burden of patronage, although, they, with the burden of patronage, cannot shake off their responsibility. It would be too much to say as yet that the present system of competition for the public service in England is designedly insincere, for it has been admitted from the first to be only tentative; but it will certainly lie open to the charge if, now that it has proved practically inefficient and

threatens to prove mischievous, it is not reformed; and the most tenacious and redoubtable of the champions of competition are forced to admit that, as at present administered, it is attended with evils which require correction; and that large and important amendments are needed in the methods and subject-matter of the examinations, as well as in the adaptation of the system to the public economy.

In the case of the Indian Medical Services, for which no demand exists, competition has become a pretence, a delusion, and a snare. The Indian Civil Service is still, fortunately, although quite fortuitously, in demand, and so long as it continues to be so—Englishmen being what they are—but little harm may possibly come of the present unscientific mode of competition for it. But it is not the less a condemnation of the present system that it absolutely ignores that culture with the sense of responsibility which it implies, is the highest and one indispensable qualification of a governing class like the Indian civilians. The present system of competition, however, while practically surrendering Ministerial responsibility to an irresponsible Commission of Examiners, not only fails to secure the right men for the right places, but tends also most disastrously to affect the development of national education; takes no thought of the interests of the unsuccessful—of the majority—who, under it, are forced to stake everything on the issue of an eccentric examination; nor of the danger to an old and settled commonwealth of the creation within it of a large caste of abandoned intellectual reprobates; as if competition were indeed but a cowardly and cruel shift to rid Ministers of the multitude of place-hunters, and not, as was the intention and hope of the eminent and exemplary men who initiated it, a means for correcting the corruption of patronage without lessening Ministerial responsibility (which indeed cannot be cast off, although in practice it is now in suspense), for securing the ablest and best educated men for the public service, for spreading education throughout all classes of the people, and promoting national contentment; imperial aims, and worthy the nation which sought to embody them in a law.

A paper examination is at its best an unsatisfactory test of a man's powers, when its aim, the sole legitimate aim of examination, is to pass every candidate qualified to pass, and not to pluck a single man who ought to be passed. Such are University and College pass-examinations; and the leaving-examination of Prussian schools, the first qualification for the public service in Prussia. I have had very great experience of these examinations, as great, I presume, as any educationist of my age in England; and I, for one, would do away with even pass-examinations. I would give the degree or other pass-certificate as a certificate simply of a prescribed disciplinary course having been followed out—certified, if you

will, day by day, as under the system of *répétiteurs* in use in the scientific schools of France—and not for passing a set—a chance-medley—of questions. Indeed, the only men who can rightly examine a man are his teachers, as is done in Edinburgh University and Colleges founded on its model. But the express aim of a competitive steeple-chase examination is to trip up as many of the competitors as possible—to pluck, not pass; and, unfortunately too often, and almost inevitably, it plucks the very candidates who, under a scientific system, would have passed—the very men wanted in India—and passes those who ought to be plucked. I say, advisedly, that it is the present competitive system which too often plucks the best men for the Indian Civil Service and passes the worst, and not the examiners, who have simply to examine faithfully as prescribed by the system, the tripping-up system—to set puzzling and ever more puzzling questions, not to test culture, which a single examination cannot test, and which can be tested only by the continuous trial examination involved in the gradual following out of a regulated course of discipline. Mr. Matthew Arnold writes: “I once bore part in the examination for the Indian Civil Service, and I can truly say that the candidates to whom I gave the highest marks were, almost without exception, the candidates whom I would not have appointed. They were crammed men, not formed men; the formed men were the public school men, but they were ignorant on the special matter of examination, English literature.” And English literature, in the sense of the Civil Service Commissioners, means, be it borne in mind, the “Handbook of English Literature, by Angus,” or Shaw’s “Students’ English Literature.” Another distinguished examiner for the Indian Civil Service himself pointed out to me, as the very type of an uneducated man, one of the successful candidates of the year in which he examined, who stood almost at the head of the list. It is a fact that several of the successful candidates at the last competitive examination for the Indian Civil Service owe their places on the list to the accident of their crammer having on the very morning of the examination in natural sciences run them over the anatomy of the lobster, which was one of the subjects of the examination on that day. They probably knew as much about it the day before, or the week after, as of the anatomy of the Chimæra. All that can be said of such a haphazard, “happy-go-lucky,” and Philistine system of testing men for the public service is, that at its best, and under the most favourable circumstances, it is better than the abuse of patronage, when it is thoughtless or corrupt. At a competitive paper examination for the Premiership (and why not for the Premiership of England, if for the Governorships and Lieu-

tenant-Governorships of India?) Mr. Gladstone would have been inevitably tripped up for calling London, as he, like everyone else, does, "this Metropolis;" and St. Paul's, as he did in the last Queen's Speech, "the Metropolitan Cathedral." In vain would he plead abounding usage in defence.

But it is when applied to a service for which there is no competition that this sham competitive system works unmitigated evil. The Indian Medical Services had long been out of demand before we copied the system of competitive examination from the effete Chinese, and it has repeatedly happened since they were thrown open to competition that the candidates for them have barely outnumbered the appointments to be filled up. This is simply to turn a service into a feast for the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind. I do not deny that many men of the highest scientific accomplishments and professional ability have entered the Indian Medical Services under the new system. My point is, that it has admitted into these services scores and hundreds of men who would have had no chance of passing under the system of the old directors. It is a startling fact that contemporaneously with the establishment of the competitive system the Indian Medical Services have ceased to be scientific. I drew attention to this about four years ago in Bombay, and three years ago in England, and official inquiry was made of the facts alleged by me. Some time ago the Director of Public Instruction in Bombay reported that it was impossible to create a professorship of geology in connection with the Grant Medical College, as there was no officer in the Bombay Medical Service qualified or competent to give the necessary lectures. Since its late accomplished Secretary left Bombay in 1865, the Medical and Physical Society of Bombay has virtually ceased to exist, although it holds its sittings in Grant Medical College. Grant Medical College itself has been hanging on the verge of extinction for the last eight years, and would have died a natural death three years ago but for the artificial life in death in which Government has kept it going. It is obvious, in short, without any further argument, that the Indian Medical Services, so long as they are suffered to remain out of demand, ought not to be thrown open to competition; strict nomination, followed by strict examination as formerly being the only plan for securing men of character and the requisite qualifications for services allowed to continue thus despised and neglected. I do not for a moment mean to imply that it is the competitive system which has brought down the Indian Medical Services from their former high estate to the dust. What I insist on is, that having been allowed to fall out of demand since the "good old days" when they produced their Roxburghs, Wallichs, Buchanans,

Heynes, Ainslies, Thompsons, Royles, Wights, Falconers, Carters, and Stocks, to throw them open to unrestricted competition is merely to sacrifice the only check to their becoming a prey to needy and incompetent men; and I affirm that it has proved so in fact.

The old directors' system of patronage was the very best for recruiting the Indian Medical Services, and I doubt if a better in its results will ever be found for even the, at present, sufficiently paid Civil Service. Indeed, it is not a little singular, that while competition for the Indian Civil Service has produced as good administrators, and, it may very probably be, better judges than we had in India before, it has signally failed to produce any men like to the scholars, Orientalists, antiquaries, naturalists, and brilliant writers, for whom India was indebted to Haileybury—a distinction in which one would have anticipated competition would have proved even more successful. The directors divided their patronage among themselves, and in this way each director was made personally responsible for its administration. As a rule, they presented their nominations only to young men personally known to them, and if they departed from this salutary rule, it was to present them for competition to some distinguished public school—Eton, Westminster, or Shrewsbury. That is my ideal. Looking round amongst the families known to them from father to son, here an able son was selected for Haileybury, and there a personable, high-spirited boy for Addiscombe. This, after all, was an admirable plan for the directors. Boys, from the first moment that they showed any special character and ability, were at once trained up for the special services that they were destined for in India. Those of them who went to muscle, were good examples of the English country gentlemen, and always found useful work to do, for which they were found admirably suited. If one of them ran to brain, we got intellectual ability of an order no competitive examination can insure us, and the present competitive system must almost necessarily exclude. It is perfectly impossible for the new civilians to produce better men, intellectually speaking, than their predecessors were. They brought fresh and undrained energies to their work; while these too frequently bring energies worn out and exhausted by excessive and premature toil over books. Those were familiar, from father to son, with the traditions and mysteries of the art of man-government; they learnt them by living them; these—of course I speak subject to obvious exceptions—do not even know that they have to learn them.

The promise of a medical appointment was always worth accepting. There was a sort of provision for you made certain if you qualified for it; and so, at the worst even, it was worth giving also, and the directors accordingly gave their medical appointments only to men

most carefully selected. They made a point of particularly patronizing young men devoted to some branch of physical science or natural history; and indeed, and in consideration of its cheapness, the Indian Medical Services were perhaps the chief glory of their commercial system. The directors were, in short, merchant princes, and knew in every case how to make the best bargains for themselves, and pressed, as regarded their medical officers, as hardly as they dared, in the matter of pay and pension, on that humanity which the study of nature calls out in men. They made a point, also, of selecting young men for their Medical Services, it being as necessary that men should be sent out young to services in which, almost to the end of their days, they have to obey, as it is to send out formed men to the Indian Civil Service; in which from almost the first they have to command. But now we send out private school-boys for the Indian Civil Service; and broken-down, spavined, winded, and galled country practitioners, as military surgeons. In short, the old directors' system of patronage was the very system for keeping up the efficiency and high tone of an ill-paid scientific service; while unrestricted competition, here "first come first have," applied to such a service, can only destroy it. I will not make much of the loss of efficiency. In India efficiency is quite of secondary importance; it, indeed, bores the natives desperately. But a high tone, down to the drummer-boys, is everything, at least to the stability of the British Government in the country.

The present system of competition has necessarily severed the personal tie, which bound the old India House and the servants of the Company together. It cuts that tie and suppresses the salutary interest in their servants which all masters by nature desire to take, and without which it is unreasonable to look for loyalty, independence of spirit, and discipline among men. The old interest of the India House in their servants, and their servants' reverence for the India House, and the old *esprit de corps* which united the members of the Services, have all been destroyed at one blow by competition. When a young man was freely given an Indian appointment he was laid under an obligation to a fellow-man for life. He might never see his benefactor again in this life, but in all his service his thought would all the more be to justify the selection of himself made by him; and if ever, with the opportunity, he won credit to himself, the chief pleasure of it would be in the satisfaction it was sure to give the director who had served him. And these excellent men stimulated this sentiment of personal loyalty to their government by following you with their goodness all your life, not less advisedly, probably, than out of that spontaneous instinct of human nature which delights to make

much, and ever more and more, of its dupes. It might only be an occasional letter from one of them, telling you of the satisfaction with which they watched your advance in the service, but none the less did it accomplish its purpose. I know that personal loyalty is not thought a right motive to duty, but the fact is that it is among the strongest motives to duty. I could understand serving a great policy for its own sake, with the unscrupulous devotion of a Jesuit to his faith, and I could understand a sort of Benedictine Brotherhood for the regeneration of India—and in consideration of the utter unworldliness and deep religious feeling of the Hindoos, it may be that of such a kind is the government they need, and not a great worldly government of State-craft; but what we have in India is not a policy or a mission, but the British Government. Under the old directors, on your first landing in India, you were taken in charge by a paternal sergeant-major, or by personal friends, who put you up to the ways of the country. Now, on landing, the young competitor, nobody's child, has to shift for himself, without an idea how to do it. He is cheated right and left, outraged, defied, possibly incurs debts which he can never throw off again, and almost as certainly acquires an inveterate hatred of the country and its people. I have known this neglect and suffering kill young men outright. Then, when you came home again, it was part of the etiquette of their paternal system for you to call upon the directors. It would be sheer impertinence for any Indian officer to call on the directors of the New India House as an act of simple homage. In France and in Germany the Governments, in this way, collect much useful information, indirectly—information which they could not come by directly—and get a hold on the services which binds them and the Government together in the unity of a vital organization, living, thinking, and acting together as one being—a Spartan phalanx. Fools are fain of fair words. But now-a-days, if the Secretary of State for India wants civil servants, wants medical, or other officers, he advertises for them. If you pass the conditions of the advertisement, you get a letter by the penny post, telling you that you have done so, and after a longer or shorter period, if you have miraculously escaped the dangers of that terrible middle passage, another letter, telling you to proceed to your destination round to the other side of the globe. The Secretary of State all the while might be the man in the moon as far as you are concerned. The Secretary of State, in short, cannot, and, in fact, does not, take any personal interest in servants he does not appoint, whom he does not see, and whose rights, privileges, and interests are being, in consequence, sacrificed one after the other, until, at last, the Civil Service of India will get

to be as little sought after as the Medical Service. It would be a complete compensation, indeed, for the apathy and indifference of the Secretary of State in Council, if the competitive system were creating an interest in the Indian Services and in India throughout the people of England. But this the present system of competition has emphatically failed to do. India has been thrown wide open, through unrestricted competition, to the people of England, and they simply won't have it, not even the Civil Service, the supply of young men for which is merely kept up by one of the tricks of the trade of crammers. They impress, crimp, sharp, quick boys for the service, warranting their passing on your pledging them a heavy premium. You must be quick and rich, or you have no chance. If a boy is not superficially clever, or cannot risk their charges—the stake—they reject him off-hand. Competition, in short, instead of opening up, as it was hoped, chances for poor men to rise in life, yearly makes it more and more difficult for any but the rich to attempt the public service. The hazard run is too great, and failure is irreparable. The costly training required is absolutely injurious. It is good only for the competitive examination, and worthless for all else beyond as well as below it; while to fail in the examination is bankruptcy in purse, in mind, and soul. Competition for the Indian Civil Services has utterly failed to benefit the poor. It opposes an insurmountable barrier to poverty as well as to culture. Owing to the omnipotent crammers, the Indian Civil Services are as effectually closed against able but poor men, as the House of Commons, and it would be more straightforward and frank to sell the appointments at a yearly auction outright to the highest bidder. The money would then go to the British taxpayer, or Indian ryot, that now goes to swell the fortunes of these crammers. I know a Cambridge Wrangler who was told by one of these gambling crammers, "You have no chance unless you come to me for three months." What is this but the closest nomination by the closest monopoly! The gang of crammers being the Directors of this New East India Competitive Examination Dodge Company, strictly limited, but which even its undoubted success can never make honourable! How hollow, then, the outcry against the old directors' system of nomination as a monopoly! And while the India House—India Office it is, significantly enough, new styled—has lost its interest in its servants in India, it has fallen correspondingly in their estimation. It is an office without the only power that the mass of men can appreciate. There has been a great contention in America of late years for the reform of the Civil Service; in other words, to throw it open to competition, but the Senate will not have it, justly urging that, deprived of their patronage, they would lose consideration in the State. The India

Office has lost this consideration, which the old India House so largely enjoyed. This is of some importance in itself, and it has led, as it appears to me, to most serious consequences. The theory of the government of India, as of a great dependency, is perfect. A despotic Viceroy governs, exposed, and, if he wills, opposed to the advice of a Council as independent of him as he is of them, and responsible only, through the Secretary of State in Council, to Parliament. If we could have a man or men ruling their fellow-men in the felt presence, as of the very presence, of God, it would be a perfect government, whether autocratic or democratic,—the reign of God upon earth. Well, that is what the government of India is in theory. It is government by a Viceroy ruling faithfully and true to the courage, the wisdom, and humanity of the people of England; and it is not so very far from it in practice, in respect of the half of the theory carried out in India. But the India Council in practice is the very contrary of the India Council in theory—a Secretary of State powerfully advised and supported by fifteen of the first of Anglo-Indian statesmen—fifteen of the first thirty, including the English Cabinet, of the Anglo-Saxon race! But when Sir Erskine Parry gave his vote in Parliament for the third reading of the Bill which constituted the Council, he said: “I do so under the solemn conviction that it will not last more than four or five years, and that in that time the Council will prove unworkable.” And it must be admitted that the severance of the personal tie between the India Office and India has destroyed the personality of the India Council, and reduced the India House to the India Office—a mere machine of record—a dead-letter office. It is perfect as a mere machine—but men are governed by men, and not by machines; and the members of the India Council were meant to be Kings of Men, and Helpers of Men, as were the old directors before them. The responsibility of the Viceroy to Parliament also is necessarily impaired in consequence. But I need say nothing of that. All that I am concerned with is the impersonality of the India Council and how this affects the service, whatever the other evils may be that have come of it. Imagine a private firm throwing open their appointments to unrestricted competition through the advertising columns of the newspapers and the Post-office! And if they did so, could the partners have any soul of interest in their business, other than in the till? And is it not to make shameful merchandise of the souls of men to abuse human service after such fashion? All government, small and great, is, and must be, personal; and directly that it ceases to be personal—whether by loss of faith in itself, or the loss of faith of the governed in it—it is anarchy. When the India House meant Colonel Sykes, and Captain Eastwick,

and Mr. Hogg, and Mr. Mangles, it was a felt power throughout the Indian services and throughout India. They are all a dead house now. But while it is a collateral evil of the competitive system that by destroying the tie between the India House and the working civilian, it has weakened the former, and a great evil, it would not be unendurable if only the working civilian were improved. But he is not. He is getting worse. And this is the main point I insist on.

Some of the Indian services still remain closed against competition, and it is remarkable that although paid infinitely less than the competitive services, they attract better men. Thus the very best official Europeans in India are found in the uncovenanted services, the educational departments, and the ecclesiastical establishments. The university and public school men systematically avoid the Civil Services, are deliberately excluded from them, and the accidental presence of one of them in them is owing to his being the son or nephew of an old Indian, the very man who of old time would have received a nomination from a director. And thus already the Administrative Service of India is being out-matched and literally browbeaten and overpowered by the open professions, the Law, the Press, and Commerce, all of which attract superior men from England. May India only become the stronger for our weakness, in the practice, which makes perfect, of self-government, and in the creation, throughout the length and breadth of the country, of those classes, inspired by those instincts whose existence alone makes self-government possible!

But it is more sensible and English-like to do whatsoever the hand findeth to do than to rest in great expectations, and the corrective of the abuses of competition is nigh at hand and unexceptionably commonplace—to throw the public services open to the public schools, the Government inspected schools and colleges, and universities, throughout the United Kingdom and the British Empire. I would give whatever appointments were open by turns to every public school, college, and university in Great Britain and Ireland, and in India and the Colonies. The appointments to subordinate services and grades I would give to the elementary schools, clerkships to the grammar schools, the higher civil and military appointments to the great public schools, such as Eton and Harrow, Marlborough and Wellington; professional appointments to the professional colleges; and appointments in the Diplomatic and Indian Civil Services to the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin, Calcutta and Bombay, Montreal and Melbourne; exacting, in the cases of the Military and Civil Services, additional special training in some service institution, such as Haileybury College and Addiscombe were, and in the case

of the Diplomatic Service a fixed period of probation at some foreign Court. The Indian schools should supply their quota to the Indian Covenanted Services—and any candidates for the Diplomatic and higher Home and Colonial Services they might have—by university scholarships enabling their best students to come to England to finish their education here, and get English ideas drummed into their heads the while. And I would deal with the Colonies, whether for the higher Colonial Services or the Home and Diplomatic and Indian Covenanted Services, just as with India. In the words of an illustrious Indian statesman, “I would give no appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service to any native of India unless he came to England and spent three years here. The Covenanted Service is the English element of the Government of India, and no native, however able and well-educated, can be fit for it unless he has seen and felt in his inmost marrow how brave and courteous and noble are English gentlemen and gentlewomen, low-born as well as high-born, when not brutalized by the possession of despotic power—how bestial are English snobs, and how very terrible and formidable is the whole nation, noblemen and gentlemen, yeomen and workmen, honest fellows of the mob, and even the snobs, with our apparatus and stores of bone and muscle. All this can only be learnt by living among us; no descriptions nor imaginations can do the work like one drive through London streets. The Uncovenanted Service might be filled up in India from Indian schools and colleges. The difference between the two lines will then be intelligible—the one Englishmen and Anglicized Indians, the other Indians and a few Indianized English.” The responsible Minister of State should determine the class of schools, primary, secondary, and higher, from which the various public services severally should be recruited; and the selection of the young men from the schools nominated by Government should be made by the masters and governors of the schools, under the supervision and subject to the veto of Her Majesty’s Commissioners for the Civil Service, or other constituted authority. The best of examiners is the examiner of his own pupils. They should select every eligible candidate offering himself, and in the event of the candidates exceeding in number the number of the appointments vacant, a practical competitive examination should be held—a competition in which marks would be indirectly given for every gift, natural or artificial, inherited or acquired, held good among men, and which gives a man advantage among men—as good birth, a good constitution (perhaps the best birth of all) a goodly presence, or distinguished manners, any perfect gift. In any school or college—and in life everywhere—they turn the balance—*cæteris paribus*, in favour of those who possess them. It is only in a wooden system of competition

by printed papers that they do not tell at all. Marks should be systematically given for physical exercises—not for gymnastics—but for walking, swimming, fencing, boxing, riding, rowing, fishing, shooting, drill, and all healthful, manful games. For my part, I would give a boy very heavy marks for an illustrious father. We do so with pigs, horses, dogs, and in the vegetable kingdom as well as the bestial; and, all else being equal, a pedigree boy should get marks as much as pedigree wheat. And what does the House of Lords mean but giving a man marks for his father? It is, indeed, peculiarly desirable, in respect of the feelings of the people of India, and out of regard for the acceptability of our rule with them, to favour the sons of distinguished Indian officials in appointing to the Indian services. I would also, if I could, deduct marks from a boy for a dishonourable father. I think this is obvious, and the principle is of very wide application, but it could not be practically enforced. But beyond gainsaying, much of the inefficiency of administration typical of the present generation of English officials is owing to the fact that the government of the country has at last been gotten into the hands of men born outside the hitherto governing families of the land, into hands bred for generations to other work than man government. In the end it will prove to have been a most salutary reformation, as it will gradually instruct the whole nation in “imperial arts.” But meanwhile, it has become the perilous virtue of a bitter necessity that the charity of every one of you toward each other aboundeth continually; and might we not almost wish that for one or two of these new men there might have been some system of competitive examination between them and power, under which just so many marks as they got for themselves should have been taken away again for their fathers unto the third and fourth generation of them back? I would not exclude from the candidature for the appointments offered to a school any boy who had left it within the two previous years,—of course from its highest class; and it might be well, perhaps, to institute a “leaving examination” for all public schools, as a certificate, for the public service, as in Prussia; only I would suit it to the differing qualifications required in the different branches of the public service, and to the grade of the schools respectively selected for recruiting them, and not make the examination uniform, as in Prussia. What the State requires, above all things, of every public servant is the sense of duty—of responsibility, which comes not of knowledge alone, which of itself indeed puffeth up, but of education. It is by education alone that men understand duty. This is the first thing to insist on, therefore; and education means time—years of mental and moral disci-

pline. But apart from this, the subjects of the qualifying examinations should have the strictest reference in each and every case to the service required by the State, and for which the State contracts to pay. There is no graver national evil to be guarded against by a people than uniformity of education, and, as conducive to it, a centralising system of examinations, pass or competitive, whether for the public services or the open professions. The greatest reproach to the system of competition administered by Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners is its tendency to check the tendency of English schools towards diversity of instruction, and to reduce them all to a Chinese uniformity and stagnation. Of course they cannot take this into their consideration. They must have exclusive regard to the end to which their duty is restricted—to bar the excess of candidates for place. They have no discretion; it is theirs only to set puzzling and ever more puzzling questions; and logically it should come to this, that at last men shall be tested for the public service by means of positive Chinese puzzles. The tendency of the system must necessarily be to set all the schools up and down the land to solve these puzzles; a tendency only counteracted by the fact that the schools of England are in the keeping of a noble body of gentlemen who prize culture more than profit, and rank it above the praise of a generation which sets riches higher than conscientiousness. So vigorous is the individuality of Englishmen that no two schools in England are alike—a sign of great intellectual soundness and incorruptibility. But the tendency of the present system of competition must be not only to a dead level of education, but to the very death of the rational soul [*πνεῦμα*, Geist] of a people. At this moment the whole education of numberless young Englishmen consists in reading up the questions set during the last fifteen years at the competitive examinations of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners. This is all the education they bring to the public service, and, unfortunately for themselves also, it fits them for nothing else but the public service, or, failing that, for political agitation and pot-house politics. If, indeed, the examinations tended only to reduce national education to uniformity, it would be baneful enough, as Prussia is beginning to find out, and as all who have studied the system of education in France will have vividly recognized. But our examinations for the public service not being pass, but competitive, tend also and necessarily to cram subjects—"paying subjects," in the crammer's slang—"English literature" and the "physical sciences," falsely so called, and away from disciplinary, the dead languages, mathematics, grammar, logic, and the method of science, which draw out and give edge and polish to the intellect as the sword of the spirit, and on which—their geometry and admirable

dialectics—the keen, bright mind of Greece was whetted. The tendency of the present competitive system, therefore, is, and its result at the last must be, to revolutionise the teaching of the English schools, which, with all their old-fashioned and readily detected faults, afford the best of all moral and intellectual training for men, as Prussia and France are both beginning to acknowledge, and as Englishmen have proved, not once nor twice, in the story of this island, from Elizabeth to Victoria. It must, if obstinately persisted in, subvert our old schools and fix the national intellect in the cataleptic immobility of China. In short, competition, as at present conducted, is an unqualified curse—in the case of the Indian Civil Service, potential, it may be, rather than actual—to the public services, to its victims, whether successful or unsuccessful, and to national education and the national character, intellectual and moral. But, rightly conducted, throwing the public services open to the public schools, it would stimulate education and culture among all classes of the people, provide the different public services with men of the precisely different training and qualifications required for them, and this with injury to no man; for a disciplined, formed man is sure not to fail in life, although he may fail once, and twice, and thrice in trying to get into the public service. And in the quickening in the people of the higher principles of the intellect, we may hope that the very competitive impulse itself—a brute instinct which modern competition has most offensively developed among half-educated Englishmen, and which every true man must shrink from with loathing and abhorrence—may itself at length become extinguished in the English race, as it always has been in the few who have answered to and fashioned its highest ideal.

As regards the Indian Civil Service by itself, it would be practically conceding all that is desired if the rule of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners, excluding from competition all men above twenty, were rescinded, and the maximum age of candidates raised to twenty-three. This would at once re-open the public service to men who had completed a university education, and enable the Secretary of State to insist on the B.A. degree of all civil servants. At least, it will be admitted that a rule which has virtually closed the Indian Civil Service against the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge is neither just nor wise. It is strange that the universities should tolerate it, while already they are up and protesting against a like Army regulation which in effect shuts out university men from the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery, and that they do so in proof positive of how little the Indian Civil Service is sought after. Had this rule

existed from the first, it would have excluded from the earlier Competition-Wallahs, such men as Aitcheson, Wyllie, West, Pedder, and Peile, and others who have made a bright name for themselves and sustain the highest character the Indian Civil Service has ever borne. My brother, Mr. Herbert Birdwood, of the Bombay Civil Service, and one of the earlier competitors, in proposing, in a memorandum which he submitted March 12, 1870, to Sir Bartle Frere, the return to the old rule, observes: "It may be said that the education of young men at Oxford and Cambridge is unduly prolonged, and that a student's general scholastic training ought to cease before he is twenty years old. ~ "Whatever force there may be in any such consideration, I think that "until it is practically recognized by the governing bodies of the universities it is too much to expect from undergraduates that they should "forfeit one-half of the advantages of their university career, if they "would compete for the great educational prizes at the disposal of the "Civil Service Commissioners. The continued exclusion of university "men must be held to be an evil, if regard be had to some of the special "advantages possessed by the English universities as training-places "for the Indian public service. If the associations of undergraduate "life furnish an admirable preparation for public life in England, they "ought to be equally beneficial to the official Englishman in India, who "moreover has the greater need of a sound training in early life, because "in India he is not always subject to those wholesome checks of public opinion which, in English life, tend to counteract much of the evil "which might otherwise result from a bad system of public training. Any "vices of a man's birth and breeding are only too likely to be aggravated by the circumstances of his Indian life. By virtue of his official "position he occupies a prominent place in the eyes of the native "community. He soon finds that he is an influential man, and he "may find it difficult to resist the temptation to form undue notions "of his own importance. If he yields to any such weakness, his "efficiency as a public servant must be seriously hindered. It is "necessary that he should have learnt, before going to India, not "to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to "think soberly—that he should know, in short, his proper level. "And this is a knowledge which is very readily acquired at the universities [as wherever large numbers of accomplished gentlemen are brought "together], where every undergraduate is constantly brought into contact "with men who excel him in one way or another, and where he soon "discovers his own weak points, and is taught to measure himself by "others, and not by himself." And it is this knowledge which is education

for the world, and for ruling in the world; and not the knowledge that Nicholas Udall is the author, if he was the author, of "Roister Doister," and that the author of "Grammar Gurton" is unknown; and of the infernal chemistry of the sun, and all "about protoplasm" and other useless knowledge of the scientific pedants and intellectual charlatans of the class which the Right Hon. Robert Lowe and Professor Thomas Huxley so much set up and set forth. "Again," my brother continues, "if a man is required to work for a long series of years in a tropical climate, his nervous energy ought not to be impaired by any injudicious forcing of his mental powers, as by cramming. Now, to whatever excellence our best university men may attain, the intellectual development of the large mass of students is certainly not improperly forced. Their progress is gradual and methodical, with long intervals of mental rest, and few are ever pushed beyond their strength." But so long as the rule remains, the crammers will have it all their own way, and the service will be recruited yearly by an increasing proportion of young men whose intellects have been enfeebled and destroyed by injudicious forcing, and who cannot be expected to have been humanized by association with men of culture, and to have been developed in the healthy society of large numbers of the best men of their own age and force of intellectual and moral character—pedants and charlatans, in whose hands the splendid patriarchy of India—the Indian Civil Service—must degenerate into a cruel, inefficient, and corrupt bureaucracy; into which, as I maintain, it is already beginning to degenerate before our eyes.

Or, at least, Government should revive Haileybury, and why not at Cooper's Hill? But, quite contrariwise, the Indian Government at present leaves the successful candidates for its Civil Service—private school, crude boys—to seek their special training, like their general training, anywhere; a prey to money-lenders, crammers, and even worse evils than these. So injurious, indeed, is this heartless, thoughtless neglect of the Secretary of State in Council on them, that it would be far better if the successful candidates were at once shipped off to India on passing, there to acquire their technical training under the eyes of a paternal Government, and amid the self-correcting and elevating influences of their equals in the service. But of course the wiser plan would be to send only formed men out in the service, not schoolboys to be formed in India. And if the arguments for founding Cooper's Hill do not, *à fortiori*—inasmuch as it is more difficult to govern men than to make roads—involve a revived Haileybury, whether inclusive or not of making the B.A. degree compulsory for the Indian Civil Service, they become as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. I would like to see

Addiscombe also, as well as Haileybury, revived at Cooper's Hill. But the Secretary of State, after founding Cooper's Hill College, for the special training of civil engineers for the Indian Government, sacrificed its special purpose at once to the summons of the untrained engineering profession in England by dispensing with one or two years' residence at the college in the case of students who already, before presenting themselves at the college, possess a competent knowledge of the subjects taught in the college education—*i.e.*, sacrificed training to examination. I will venture to say in the dark that the Principal and Professors of Cooper's Hill have already found that the competitive entrance examinations periodically held by them too often admit men into the college who give infinitely more trouble than they are worth, and again and again have excluded men who would have done honour to the college and to the great scientific service of India. England will keep the best young engineers, and India get the poorest—the men who would have been plucked in the manly competition of the free life of England. I speak in the dark, and I trust in utter error, and that the college may yet vindicate the lines of Pope on Denham's poem—

“On Cooper's Hill eternal wreaths shall grow
Whilst lasts the mountain, or while Thames shall flow”——

for old Indians look out through tender leaves of hope to its future. At least the British Government in India rests absolutely on the personal character of the men of the Indian Services, and, above all, of the civilians; and the contentment of India with our rule—as apart from, and secondary to the security of our rule—depends mainly on the discipline, the sense of duty, obedience, order, responsibility—on the conscientiousness of the members of public services. The predisposing causes of the Mutiny were, of course, the unalterable disloyalty, enmity, and disaffection of the sovereign houses, priests, and dominant sects dispossessed by us of their states, power, and supremacy in India. But its exciting cause, separate from the exciting causes of the Rebellion of 1857, was the suspension of our career of conquest; and consequent discontent of the Army. For three generations it had been marched from victory to victory, and gorged with the spoil of the vanquished. And at last, when all India was subjugated, and while there were still endless marches to be made from Calcutta to Peshawur, there was an end of the loot, and the undisciplined mercenaries mutinied. I think that this must of necessity be the common sense of the mutiny of a mercenary army: and the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 is an apt illustration of the dangers of an undisciplined service. Now, the spirit of indiscipline which, before 1857, characterized the Bengal Army, now pervades the junior grades and ranks of all the Indian Services. The sense of responsi-

bility is everywhere wanting, and discontent and the spirit of insubordination universal; while the old feeling of personal loyalty is gone, with the system which nurtured it, for ever. The teeming millions of India are, indeed, well enough affected towards our rule, but it is with the passive subserviency characteristic of village communities everywhere. A ryot's interests are restricted to his own holding and village, the interests of a village to itself, and the lands which the villager's hold; and so conqueror after conqueror sweeps past, and the country stands by, a passive spectator. Thus the fate of India has always been decided by armies in the field, without the people taking, or caring to take, any part in the conflict. It would be perfectly indifferent to the ryots around Poona and Sattara whether they were ruled by Mahrattas, or Mahomedans, the English or the Russians, and this simply because they have no interest—no efficient political interest—in who rule over them. And thus it must be until the growth over the country of a landlord-class, without which an independent spirit, and a spirit of intelligent loyalty to our rule, and, above all, to law and order, can never animate the people of India; and without which, if from no other cause, self-government must always be impossible in India. The ryot is neither loyal nor disloyal—nor can be. He is simply a ryot, to whom a general action between the armies of Russia and England would be no more than a military spectacle. Nothing, indeed, could be happier than the condition of the Indian ryot—as we have made it for him—as a mere animal. To see the fields for leagues and leagues round about cities like Poona, and Sattara, and Sholapore under cotton, jowarie, linseed, hemp, flax, safflower, and pulse, the rich gardens surrounding every water-spring, the fruitful orchards by every village, and to hear the reapers shouting in the golden harvests, impresses the imagination vividly at first in favour of the Bombay system. But all is false and hollow, if we look beneath the fair, persuasive seeming, and are not misled by such arguments as make the worse appear the better reason. Administered generally in a narrow spirit, it is practically found admirably adapted for fattening the ryot up, like a calf, for the knife of “the able revenue officer,” and preserving a subject race in a state of brutal ignorance, selfishness, and sloth. But this at the sacrifice of all the qualities which should distinguish men, and which make the true greatness and safety of States. We have already tasted the bitter fruits of ignorance and barbarity, and seen with what ease the designing may act upon an ignorant people, and to what lengths of unutterable cruelty men can go when they have cast off the only fetters that restrain them; and we have, I trust, at last learned the lesson, that the stability of our Government in India depends on the improvement of the lower

classes, and the training of them by the means proper for a Government to use, at once to know their duties, and to assert their rights as members of the commonwealth. But to trust to the popularity of our rule with the Indian ryots—such as they are at present—for the low material blessings it has brought to them, is to build on sand. In the half-Europeanized Presidency towns the loyalty of the mercantile and educated classes towards our rule is at once hearty, intelligent, and an active power on our side—at least so it is in Bombay. But the educated are few, and the loyalty of the Bazaar and “go-down” is but a form of cupboard-love, after all—(hay, straw, and stubble—fire shall reveal it)—for the foundation of Empire. Still if the problem of the government of India is full of perplexity, and, at this supreme hour, strangely overclouded, so is that of all government everywhere; and I, for my part, believe that the people of India are easier to govern than any other people up and down the bright latitudes and longitudes of the terraqueous globe, if governed in mercy and truth, in righteousness and peace. They are long-suffering and patient, hardy and enduring, frugal and industrious, law-abiding and peace-seeking. They hate change, indeed—especially in legislation and taxation. This is the Indian ryot universally. The educated and higher mercantile classes are honest and truthful, and loyal and trustful towards the British Government, in the most absolute sense that I can use, and you understand the words. The most perfect example of intellectual truthfulness I have ever known is “a lying Mahratta.” Moral truthfulness is as marked a characteristic of the Settia class of Bombay as of the Teutonic race itself. The people of India, in short, are in no intrinsic sense our inferiors, while in some things—measured by some of the false standards, false to ourselves, we pretend to believe in—they are our superiors. They would, for instance, give our boys no chance in competitive examinations under the present system, if they could only come to London. And their human ideals are Janak and Bali, Tukaram and Akalyabai, and Bunyan’s Pilgrim—all Christians of the Gospel. They are not our ideals, to whom the unmixed Christian character is radically repugnant, profess what we will. One of the most rueful sights in all India is to see a respectable English missionary—good, honest Gentile fellow—expounding Christianity to the natives. The Christ of the Gospels they know, and of the prints from the pictures by the old masters; but this muscular, worldly wise, and well-dressed self-called Ambassador of Him, utterly confounds the Divine Message in their ears. They are indeed by accident of geographical place and climate, physically a weaker race, and hence politically a loosened faggot of sticks, a nation disintegrated into its villages, and they never, never will rise into self-

organized, self-supported national life, desire it as we may. Municipal self-government is the utmost they can attain to. The vital question, then, of the government of India is—not what sort of a people are they; but what manner of men are we?—not are they loyal to us, but are we true to ourselves? Our rule in India rests wholly on ourselves—on the personal character of each and every Englishman in India; and while we understand this, and are true to ourselves—look to ourselves, take care of ourselves—our empire in India shall endure as that house about which the floods arose, and against which the stream beat vehemently and could not shake it, for it was founded upon a rock. This it is which gives the question of appointing to the Indian Civil Service by competitive examination such importance. And the moment is critical. On all sides we find men's hearts failing them for fear about India, and for looking after those things that are coming. I do not pretend to make light of this fearful seeking for of judgment; but I believe that this undisciplined state of the national mind is the very greatest danger of all threatening our rule in India—that panic here means inevitably lawless tyranny and massacre there. But so long as we remain true to ourselves, we shall always govern India with credit to ourselves and perfect acceptability to the natives; and the brave, wise, and humane blood of the English race must have run to water before we fail in, or quail before, the task.

The CHAIRMAN said that, whatever their opinions as regards the subject which had been brought forward, they would all readily acknowledge that the Lecturer had gone skilfully over the whole question, and that he had formed very original ideas in relation to it. Dr. Birdwood's address had been highly suggestive, and he (the Chairman) would be very much disappointed if it were not followed by an animated and profitable discussion on the points which had been raised.

Mr. E. CHADWICK, C.B., ventured to make a few remarks as one who had had something to do with the introduction of this principle of competitive examinations; but he could in no degree concur with the praise which had been bestowed upon the Lecturer for the address he had just delivered, for he considered it replete with pessimist errors and of vaticinations of what would be the effect of this system, and what amounted to misrepresentations of what *is* the effect. He would very readily admit that the system of competitive examinations, as at present practised in respect to the public service, was susceptible of improvement. He thought the system of repetiteurs, long practised in France, which required an examination of every day's work and notes of the results by trustworthy examiners' repetiteurs, the sum of whose marks at the end of the term decided, preferable to the agony and rush and a

Derby-day on the present system. The French system of *répétir* produced more steady labour, and quiet and solid results, than the English system. In another respect also the course of preparation for the public service of England and India was open to improvement, in giving more of living science than of the dead languages, literatures, and histories—less of the work of the cloister, and more of the practical, more from the office and the field of administration; less of the ornamental, and more of the useful. Nevertheless, as to what the system already does—defective though it may be—there was but one decided testimony from old officers and servants to an improved average, that it brought forward a more industrious set of men than the old system of patronage—more thrifty, more frugal, and better officers. No doubt great men arose out of and above the patronage system, but those who knew of what it was, testified that for one good bargain which it furnished, it gave three or four bad ones. One result of the old system of patronage, as compared with the competitive system, was forcibly shown in a case which came to his mind. A tutor in a wealthy family, while the old system of patronage was in vogue, was engaged by a merchant to coach two of his sons for the Indian service. The young gentlemen, who, being secure of their appointment, gave no heed to the tutor, told him to receive his salary, and give himself and them the least trouble; but before the appointments could come off the system of competition came on; and seeing the fastest of their associates go to the bottom of the lists, a change came over the spirit of the dreams of the young gentlemen, and the tutor became another man to them, and an object of solicitude and respect to them as a coach. They were industrious, and succeeded, and without patronage went to India with improved habits and mental qualifications better qualified for their work than India ever got before. Indeed, he got a very good description of the competitioners from a cabman who once drove him down to Chatham. “You have a new set of men here—the competitioners? What is thought of them?” “Oh, Sir, they are a mean set.” “Why?” “Oh, they don’t spend a quarter so much as the others used to do.” Inquiries amongst the tradesmen showed a similar result. And no doubt it was a true charge that the competitioners were frugal, and did not run into debt; and if the tradesmen found they were not favoured with such large orders, they found that what they served they were paid for, which was not always the case under the old system. Instead of a “competitive” civil servant in India sending his lord of the household to the bazaar, he was seen to go with his wife, and make close purchases himself. This frugal course was pronounced to be that of a new caste, and by the dealers, and those who profited less

by it, an inferior caste. Hence the contumely which was cast upon "those competition fellows," "competition-wallahs." In every quarter he heard good of the system of competitive examination (except from those who lost); and this good would be greatly increased when the improvement shortly to be introduced was put in operation—viz., that first-class men should have a high order of appointment, and second-class a lower. In this way, those best qualified will occupy the best places. With all its faults, it produces a large amount of efficiency in the public service. But the other day an experienced authority expressed his pleasure at the very high quality of the young engineer officers whom the competitive principle introduced into the service of India. He would deny altogether Dr. Birdwood's statement that the Medical Service in India had degenerated. Dr. Birdwood, in stating the defects of recent medical appointments in the Indian Service, as the result of competition, had made one great mistake—for, owing to a great demand for the medical profession in England and the colonies, the candidates for the Indian Service have been so few as rarely to supply vacancies, and as practically to frustrate the competitive arrangements. On the whole, he could not compliment the Lecturer on the temper of his address, nor upon the carefulness of the assertions he had made, and his vaticinations as to the future were contrary to fact, and experience as to the present, so far as came within his (Mr. C.'s) information.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER, late Commissioner of Patna, said: When Mr. Chadwick stated what he declared to be upon good authority, that for one good bargain there were two or three bad ones in the old service of the East India Company, he confessed himself as feeling somewhat uncomfortable. Mr. Chadwick's testimony, however, was to some extent weakened by the otherwise very interesting episode which he narrated in regard to a conversation between himself and a cabman, which he quoted as implying high praise of the competitive. Now, admitting the authority of cabmen generally, it could hardly be conceded that they were likely to know much of the qualifications for the Indian Civil Service. And, however pleasing the idea of a public official in India going to the bazaar to purchase his own meat might appear theoretically, anyone who knew anything at all of India practically would tell Mr. Chadwick that the act would be only a fit subject for a caricature, and the whole community of any large town where such a process would be possible, as Calcutta or Madras, would have the most profound contempt for the enterprising individual. And very likely the butcher would get a better bargain than if the competitioner had followed the usual course of obtaining his supplies through his khansaman. As regards the comparative average of good or bad bargains afforded by the old and new systems, it was a

difficult question to solve, but it should be remembered that if there were bad bargains under the old system, there were at least many good ones, and when they were good, they were very good. Having a large experience of the old system, having served under it himself for many years, and having still in its ranks sons and sons-in-law; and having had under his orders many of the competition-wallahs, he was perhaps competent to speak as to the result of the present system as compared with the old order of affairs. The difficulty in such instances was to reconcile theory with practice. Theoretically, competition was a good thing, but it did not follow that the competition which is good for the English service is good for the Indian Service, and a great mistake has been made in this respect (as had been forcibly, perhaps he might say passionately, depicted by the Lecturer). Serious errors of omission were made in the examinations which were supposed to fit a man for the peculiar duties of the Indian Civil Service. A mistake made by Mr. Chadwick was that he assumed that Dr. Birdwood desired a reversion to the old system of patronage, whereas the fact was that the Lecturer objected only to competitive examinations as *at present conducted*. Anyone who had been in India, and knew the peculiar character of the duties that fell to the lot of the public servants of the Government, and the special qualifications necessary, would at once see that mere intellectual "cramming" was positively and absolutely futile, and was a false test of ability. Able and distinguished men have been produced by the new system, no doubt—he had the honour to be acquainted with not a few himself—and he had not the slightest doubt that as far as intellectual qualifications are concerned, they were "good bargains," and were perhaps superior to those who went before. But as regards their position generally in India, he had no hesitation in saying that the feeling of the natives was not that feeling of respect, veneration, and attachment which was given to the former race of officers. The natives have wonderful penetration as to character—in fact, if anybody has a scent for a true gentleman, it is the native of India. The natives would not be disposed to look with greater respect upon the young officer because, to save a few rupees, he went into the bazaar and bought his own mutton chops; but they do penetrate beneath the surface, and keenly criticise even trifling characteristics of every man who is set to rule over them. The whole subject, as introduced by the Lecturer, was one of great interest, but the lecture itself was so full of suggestions that it was utterly impossible even to glance at the various topics which it broached. He rejoiced and congratulated the Indian Service upon the fact that the subject was now being brought prominently before the public. The happy medium between the two principles would probably be found in the system advo-

cated by Dr. Birdwood. Of what vital importance this was would be seen when it was considered that upon the success of the system rested the future success of the English administration of India. The difference between a boy crammed with "ologies," and a young man who could ride fifty miles on horseback across the country, and who possessed a sort of intimate knowledge of the method of governing men, was very great, and it was a combination of the two qualities that was wanted in India. The man who could point out a happy medium between the present system of "cramming" and the former system of indiscriminate patronage, would be a great benefactor to India, for it would be the critical test of the British administration. The men of the new system did not enjoy that high position which was held by the former system. This was an unfortunate thing, because since the occurrences of 1857 the *prestige* of the service was of more importance than ever; and every means, therefore, should be taken to revive and increase it. In conclusion Mr. Tayler expressed the hope that the topic would form the subject of future discussion, and that some practical result would issue from it.

Mr. P. P. Gordon, M.A., J.P., said he had listened with much pleasure and profit to Dr. Birdwood's address, but he did not gather from it, as the first speaker had appeared to do, that Dr. Birdwood desired a return to the system of patronage. Patronage, pure and simple, as in former days, in India, was no more. The real question of discussion was whether the mode of filling the offices of the public service by competitive examinations, as at present carried out in practice, is the proper and best one for India, and for the rising generation. He believed that it was detrimental to both, and that in consequence education in England was deteriorating to a very great extent, and was becoming simply a study of what is to obtain the greatest number of marks, without reference to what is the most beneficial to the young men in after-life. The cramming system, it was now very generally admitted, had injured numbers of young men, and rendered them unable to carry themselves forward in the situations, which they had obtained by excessive cramming, and overstrained mental exertion. A suggestion had been thrown out by the Lecturer which he thought was well worthy of deep consideration—viz., to distribute a certain number of appointments to the different public schools of England. This would obviate the objection, that competitive examinations were only the examinations of a day, which could not afford a criterion of the young man's real abilities, sound attainments, or inclinations. The masters under whose care he had been for years were the best judges of what the boy was capable of, and what career his tastes adapted him for, and in which he was most likely to succeed. At present

the young man goes in for whatever is most likely to obtain the greatest number of marks to get the appointment, and does not secure that solidity which will enable him to advance in after-life. Hence it is found, that young men are frequently disgusted with the service after they have secured the appointments. The Indian Civil Service was undoubtedly a noble one, and unquestionably, before the new system was introduced, it was highly thought of and sought after, and the natives of India esteemed it highly. But of the present system there were many distinguished men, with whom he was acquainted, who expressed but one opinion, and that was that the competitive examinations, as at present conducted, were a mistake, and that the sooner an alteration is made the better it will be for India, and for the rising generation of England. The whole question, as raised by Dr. Birdwood, was one that required much more deliberate discussion than could be brought to bear on it off-hand, and they were very much indebted to the Lecturer for the forcible manner in which he had presented the subject to them.

General Sir G. LE GRAND JACOB concurred with the preceding speaker. The lecture had a great deal in it that merited high praise, but he was afraid Dr. Birdwood had attempted too much, and, by raising so many important points, had made it impossible to do justice to them in a desultory debate like the present. He hoped that when the paper was printed, and they had leisure to examine it carefully, an opportunity would be afforded for discussing its proposals, for Dr. Birdwood had gone over so large a field that it would require a long time to consider the subject with the care its importance demanded. The Lecturer had, he thought, somewhat exaggerated the virtues of the old system and the defects of the new, but in the main he quite agreed with him. Mr. Chadwick and Dr. Birdwood did not perhaps differ so much as at first sight appeared; both agreed that reform was necessary, and if they could talk over the matter quietly together, perhaps no great residuum of difference might be left. Mr. Chadwick would hardly wish to set his cabman up as a judge of the fitness of the future rulers of India, or of their qualifications; nor would he really desire that they should go to the bazaar for their own mutton chops; probably he merely intended to indicate that the competition men were not spendthrifts. He could mean no more; for, seriously, if an Englishman acted thus in India, he would only bring contempt upon himself and his nation. If we wish to preserve the respect of the native community for the men that govern them, we must not encourage these in a line of conduct that would lead to their being despised. His experience of the natives was that they were quick in distinguishing a gentleman, and such an one had more influence over them than another who might have passed fifty examina-

tions, but was without the culture and manners of a gentleman. In this respect there was truth in Dr. Birdwood's complaint. A high tone prevailed in the old service, and the proportion of "bad bargains," instead of being three or four to one good, was quite the reverse. Mr. William Tayler hit the nail on the head when he pointed out the three essential qualifications for candidates—moral, intellectual, and physical. All three were equally important, and the great fault of the present system was that physical qualification was but little regarded. To be a valuable public servant in India, a man should be able to ride fifty miles a-day, and do cutcherry work afterwards. The means of obtaining such candidates had been ably suggested by Dr. Birdwood, and they were much indebted to him for bringing the subject forward.

Colonel RATHBONE said Dr. Birdwood had appeared to entertain the notion that the old medical system was something magnificent before the new system was introduced, and that the new system was productive of nothing but inefficiency. But one of the most eminent men during his own stay in India (Dr. Stock) had been selected by the principle of competitive examination, and his own experience was, that under the old system a great number of men obtained appointments who were not fitted to fill them. When the 4th Regt. N.I. was ordered for field service, the officers were obliged to make complaint that, while perfectly willing to run ordinary risks, they were not prepared to go with a doctor who was not capable of amputating a limb, or even of performing simpler medical duties. Indeed, one of the doctors used to enjoy the *sobriquet* of "Joe Manton," and he was nick-named after the great gun maker, because it was said of him that if he did not knock you over the first time you had occasion for him, he certainly would the second time. The patronage system operated injuriously in another way, and could hardly be said to promote science and efficiency, because he knew of many medical men who went out during the war, and who pursued their profession with skill and ability, being temporarily employed by the Government, but who, on applying for a permanent appointment, were invariably met with the reply that these offices were in the gift of the directors, who would not give them away to strangers. In point of fact, the directors were given to a natural regard for their own personal interests, and acted upon them so far as they could do so with decency. One of the commonest stories of the old *régime* was that by the Hon. John Shore, of a director who paid for the outfit of his two sons appointed to the Civil Service, by handing the tailor the nomination to an Indian cadetship; and, indeed, there could be no doubt whatever that the directors were accustomed to regard solely their own will and pleasure in the matter, and consequently, while some dispensed their patronage well, others did

it ill. As regards the "gentleman" phase of the question, he did not regard it as a *sine quâ non* in an efficient public servant that he should have been born a gentleman, because it was notorious that some of the most eminent men in the law, in medicine, and in the Church had raised themselves from very humble parentage. To encourage the notion that an Indian civil servant must be born a gentleman would be a grave mistake, for everybody in India knew that many sons of tradesmen had been most successful there. The question was hardly whether the patronage system or the competitive system was the better plan, for the former was dead beyond resurrection. The point for consideration was, rather, how can competitive examinations, as at present conducted, be improved? Obvious defects had been pointed out by previous speakers, as, for instance, the appointment of gentlemen to magistracies, when they were unable to ride, and were wanting in the physical qualifications for the task. These were points which might very advantageously be discussed, and means might be taken for securing efficiency and remedying defects in the system. It did not follow that a man efficient in one country would also be efficient in another, for one country might afford a great variety of means of travel and movement, while the other would present only one. In conclusion, the gallant speaker expressed his conviction that, viewed broadly, the competitive principle had been productive of better results than the old system of patronage, although it was true that the former admitted of much improvement in its application in detail.

In reply to the preceding criticisms,

Dr. BIRDWOOD observed that in all his address he had never made use of the word "gentleman;" the words he used were "educated" and "uneducated;" and therefore the arguments which had been based on that assumption fell to the ground. As regards the remarks made by Mr. Chadwick, he felt no surprise; for, to speak frankly, he had Mr. Chadwick in view in much of what he had said, and anticipated that he should "take a rise" out of him. Except, however, as to the question of scholastic *versus* non-scholastic education, they did not differ so much as Mr. Chadwick seemed to imagine. As regards Mr. Chadwick's eulogy of the new competition-wallah, as a ruler who goes into the bazaar to buy his own chop, anybody who had been in India would at once see the height of absurdity of it. In respect to the comparative numbers of "bad bargains" under the new and the old systems, he had some claim to speak. His opinion was that there were far more "bad bargains" under the present system than under the old one. Colonel Rathbone's instance of Dr. Stock did not go against his arguments;—on the contrary, it was a proof of their soundness. For Dr. Stock

was one of those appointed by selection followed by examination; and many of the best public servants had been got in this way. He would repeat that he was no advocate of patronage, and no opponent of competition. It was the unrestricted competition that he objected to—or rather to the system of *CRAM*, to which it led; for the present system allowed men to pass without any guarantee of their having received a sound education. They only answered certain questions, and gave no guarantee of their “*staying*” power. There was no guarantee of their being disciplined men. The system he advocated was a system of guaranteed competition. This system was to give the appointments to public schools under certain restrictions. The system answered well, so far as it was tried under the *régime* of the Court of Directors, and public opinion would assuredly come to it. Many of the most eminent men of the day had agreed with the outlines of the scheme he had sketched. He might add, also, that testimony against the competitive system had been given by some of the best examiners for Her Majesty’s Civil Service. He regretted that anything he had said should have borne the appearance of being “passionate;” but the reason for it was his strong sense of the lying obloquy to which the old East India Company and its system had been subjected, and under which it had succumbed. He felt this personally, because the Company was now dead—killed by lies; and every true man who knew its real merits was bound in honour to stand up for the fallen and give his opinion honestly and fearlessly. Corruption and inefficiency might have been found under the Company’s system—it was not expected to be perfect, and no one claimed that virtue for it—but he denied most emphatically that these evils were any worse than they are under the new system.

The CHAIRMAN said he hoped some gentleman would propose a vote of thanks to Dr. Birdwood for his very able lecture; but before that he should like to say a few words on the subject of discussion. He had had some experience in the matter, for he was thirteen years Professor at Haileybury, and had passed through six examinations at Oxford and five in India; and, moreover, he had himself examined for the different services in India. The thing which had struck him most strongly was the immense difficulty which arose in the endeavour to ascertain the really valuable man. He recollected one young student who gave him a great deal of trouble, and he was almost disposed to desire his removal from his charge, but when that cadet went to India, he greatly distinguished himself during the mutiny, and rendered most important service. And he had seen other cases of men who had done nothing at college, turning out good public servants in India, and even

taking leading places in literature. When these extraordinary rebuffs were experienced it was hard to know what to say respecting competitive examination. Nevertheless they were bound to advance; retrogression was impossible; they must march with the times, and in carrying out the principle, it was their duty to watch carefully that they did not go astray in the endeavour to turn out the best work. He, therefore, quite concurred with those who said that competitive examination was an improvement upon the old system, while at the same time he agreed with those who urged that the practice of competitive examination was far from effective in finding out the best man. He liked the idea of having a mixed system, partly based on patronage, partly on competition, which would allot appointments to the different schools of England. And one great benefit of this would be an avoidance of that level uniformity of character which is produced by the present system of competitive examination. The different schools would have their different modes of training, and the crying evil of "cramming" would be avoided. It was a curious thing that this system of giving appointments to the great schools and universities was a proposition he had himself advanced in a Committee of the House of Commons, and it was then rejected by the Government. That being the case, he was afraid that Dr. Birdwood would not soon see his suggestions put in operation. But he hoped they would go on using their best endeavours to bring about the change, and that the East India Association, by encouraging the consideration of the question, will strike out some scintillations of good.

Mr. WM. BOTLY, in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Birdwood, observed that Mr. Chadwick's practical knowledge and great experience entitled him to have great weight in the discussion of such a question. As had been pointed out by one speaker, there was not much real difference of opinion between Dr. Birdwood and Mr. Chadwick. For his own part, he thought there should be something like a standard which, if passed, would qualify the candidate to receive a nomination; and in this way the good points of both patronage and competition would be united. As regards the weight and consideration of the appointments and servants of the old system as compared with those of the new, it should be remembered that the East India Company enjoyed the *prestige* acquired by a rule of several generations, and their servants thus obtained an influence which greatly aided the efficient working of the Government of India.

Mr. ROWLAND HAMILTON, in seconding the motion of thanks, said there appeared to be substantial agreement thus far: no one advocated a return to a system of irresponsible nomination, and all admitted that competition, as at present carried out, was open to very grave abuses;

and it might well be asked, "If these things are done in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" The great evil was the dishonest and mercenary system of "cram;" and, therefore, he heartily hoped that the suggestion of giving appointments to the great schools would be followed up; for this course would greatly tend to prevent mere "coaching" and "cramming" for a special examination, while there would be equal security against incompetent candidates obtaining nominations, and a far better security that their attainments indicated some degree of liberal culture, and were not merely got up with no other view than to get through an examination. He hoped that all would cordially join in the endeavour to introduce ample and timely reforms into the present system of selection, and to discourage specially the evils so well known as "cram." The trenchant style and heavy strokes of Dr. Birdwood against the evils of which he spoke, called attention to a most important subject, and entitled him to the hearty thanks of all who were interested in the well-being of the public service.

The vote of thanks was then agreed to, and Dr. Birdwood expressed his acknowledgments.

Colonel RATHBONE moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Mr. NOBLE TAYLOR, in seconding it, observed that whatever opinion might be held with respect to some matters introduced into Dr. Birdwood's able paper, all were agreed that, other things being equal, competition was preferable to patronage as the door of entrance to the Government service. How details could best be arranged, and what improvements or amendments could with advantage be introduced into the present system of competitive examinations, was a topic of very great importance, which he hoped would be fully discussed hereafter, when Dr. Birdwood's address had been printed and circulated.

The motion was then carried *nem. con.*, and the Chairman bowed his acknowledgments.

On the motion of the DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN, seconded by Mr. J. T. ZORN, a vote of thanks was also cordially accorded to the Society of Arts for the use of the rooms. The latter gentleman observed that, owing to the advanced hour, he abstained from more extended remarks, but drew attention to the significant fact that in Germany, where education was admitted to be at its highest, the system of competitive examinations was being abandoned in some of the leading States, owing to the unsatisfactory experience it had led to, and the *English* system of "Fach Bildeing" substituted—*i.e.*, to train up a man from his youth to the profession he meant to follow in after years.

The proceedings then terminated.

THE LATE VICEROY OF INDIA.

The assassination of the late Viceroy of India was felt by the Council to be a national calamity, and they recorded their feelings in the accompanying letter to Lady Mayo, which it will be seen by the subjoined reply was gracefully acknowledged:—

“20, Great George Street, Westminster, April 12, 1872.

“Madam,—Being profoundly impressed by the sad intelligence of Lord Mayo’s assassination, and sympathising most deeply with your Ladyship in your present bereavement, we, the undersigned, on behalf of the East India Association, are desirous of offering to your Ladyship sincere condolence on the mournful event.

“To expatiate on the deceased nobleman’s many virtues would be superfluous and perhaps inappropriate, but we may, as a body associated for the support and furtherance of Indian interests, not unfitly express the sincere admiration and heartfelt respect with which the energy and untiring devotion exhibited in the Viceroy’s administration of the Government of India, has inspired our minds.

“It will have been some consolation to your Ladyship in the darkest hour of your grief to remember that, although struck down by the hand of an assassin, Her Majesty’s Viceroy died as noble men would ever seek to die—in the active service of his country; and it will, we trust, be a further comfort, as time wears on, to look back upon the universal testimony borne both in India and England to the high qualities, exalted character, and unspotted fame of your revered husband.—We are, Madam, your obedient Servants,

“LYVEDEN, President of the East India Association,

“E. B. EASTWICK, Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.

“C. J. WINGFIELD, Vice-Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.

“The Countess of Mayo, &c., &c.,

“Palmerston House, Straffan, County of Kildare, Ireland.”

Copy of Reply.

“2, Grosvenor Gate, May 8, 1872.

“My Lord and Gentlemen,—I am commissioned by Lady Mayo to thank you most sincerely for your kind and touching address.

“She is most grateful to the members of the East India Association for recollecting her in these days of sorrow and affliction.

“She prays God that your exertions for the benefit of India may further the great object for which her beloved husband laboured—the improvement and happiness of our Indian fellow-subjects.—I remain, your obedient Servant,

“ROBERT BOURKE.

“The President and Council of the East India Association.”

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1872.

J. B. NORTON, Esq. (late Advocate-General and Member of Council
in Madras), IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by Major EVANS BELL.

Trust as the Basis of Imperial Policy.

THE CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the Lecturer,

Major EVANS BELL delivered the following address :—

The most distinctive peculiarity of our Indian Government is its impersonality. The chief rulers of India—the Governors and Commissioners, the Collectors, their Deputies and Assistants—are, for the people of each province and district, not persons, but offices. This partly arises from the diversity of race, manners, and customs, which unfortunately precludes anything like social intercourse between English and Natives, partly from the fact that the Englishman in India, whatever may be his functions or his vocations—political, commercial, agricultural, or missionary—is not only never a settler, but seldom resides in the same district for more than three or four years, or has any abiding place or permanent stake in the country. Promotions and retirements, furloughs and leave of absence, on account of illness or private affairs, cause a circulation in every branch of the public service so rapid and constant, that the person and characteristics of the chief representatives of British power in a province seldom become familiar, even by repute, to the population, beyond a very narrow circle of official subordinates and hangers-on of the Courts. The Resident, Judge or Commissioner, is hardly known by name. He is the “*burra sahib*,” or “great master,” for the time being; his coadjutor or first assistant, is the “*chhotu sahib*,” or “little master.”

Now, this peculiarity of our administration has often been the subject of remark by intelligent Natives of rank, and has been specified by them as one great source and secret of the stability of the British Government. I have myself heard Native gentlemen, who have taken a distinguished part

in the management of one of the larger States, speak with admiration of the system by which our Viceroys and Governors were appointed and removed—how they served obediently for the usual term of years, more or less, at the pleasure of the Crown, and retired at the word of command, without a murmur; and I have heard them compare the quiet routine and faithful regularity of duties performed by our great functionaries, with the hollow and time-serving allegiance of the Nawabs under the Mogul Emperor. No doubt our greater historical knowledge enables us to detect the inaccuracy in the details of the comparison that is thus frequently instituted by Native statesmen, the superficial nature of the resemblances, and the essential differences that make any real comparison almost impossible. And yet there is a certain amount of truth in what they say. The Government does, indeed, keep a firmer hold over its own chief agents by the very fact of their impersonality and uncongeniality amid the masses of the population. This is undoubtedly a source of administrative strength in ordinary times, but it is the cause of fatal weakness in those extraordinary times for which we ought to be prepared. It gives our Government full control over the machinery, but none over the latent force from which the motive power is derived, and which, at those critical conjunctures that occur in the life of a nation or an empire, is apt to exercise a pressure, or to break forth explosively, in some very unexpected fashion. It is this which has led me to say, on other occasions, that Great Britain administers, but does not govern, India. India is still self-governed. The giant who produces all the wealth, and possesses all the physical strength of India, does not understand our language or walk in our ways. The words and the spells that may at any time rouse him to action, lash him to madness, or lull him to repose, are not on our tongues or in our books.

The representatives and agents of British power are not in close and intimate relations with any class of the Indian people, except the very small class of Sovereign Princes. And even with that important and influential class they are not in full harmony, or in such confidential communion as could be wished.

The subject that is now before us—whether the British Government has been sufficiently alive to the strength it might acquire, and the blessings it might confer, by making trust the basis of its Imperial policy—naturally divides itself into two questions, that of giving, and that of gaining trust.

The two questions can hardly be separated—they run into each other at every turn; but I shall endeavour on this occasion to confine myself almost entirely to the former question, that of giving trust or placing

confidence where it is due, and shall only glance at the question of gaining trust or deserving confidence. I do not suppose anyone here is simple enough to suppose that confidence can be gained, or retained, or strengthened by good intentions or by liberal professions, and therefore, while entertaining no doubt as to the equitable intentions of the British Government towards India, and admitting fully that both in Parliamentary debates, and in the written despatches and minutes from both ends of the Suez Canal, liberal and even generous professions have of late abounded, I must yet appeal to your candid opinion and ask whether it is likely, or indeed possible, that by its proceedings, and by the results of its administration during the last ten years, and more especially since the present Secretary of State, the Duke of Argyll, has been in power, the British Government has made any progress in gaining the confidence of any class or classes in the population of India, or of the mass of that population.

The revenue has increased enormously, not, be it observed—in spite of specious assertions to that effect—from any of that inherent elasticity which keeps up the British revenue, however much fiscal burdens may be reduced, for no fiscal burdens have been reduced in India. The revenue has risen, partly by a casual rise in opium—a most precarious resource—mainly by means of the augmentation of every tax that can be augmented, and by the imposition of new taxes of a most oppressive and unsuitable character. The revenue in the financial year, 1862-3, was about forty-two millions. For the financial year, 1872-3, it is estimated at nearly fifty-two millions, to which must be added three millions of new local cesses, which the ryots will find great difficulty in distinguishing from imperial taxation. The expenditure has more than kept pace with the income. Nor do I think it would be easy to persuade the ryots that in State railways, military sanitation, the new Agricultural, Archaeological, and Statistical departments, and similar plans for distributing salaries, they have got anything like an equivalent for their hard-earned rupees. And in the following pregnant sentence from his Budget speech of the 6th of April last, Sir Richard Temple presents us with no very cheerful prospect as to either reduced expenses or mitigated burdens:—

“On the whole, the State income, though not otherwise than flourishing, fails to evince that elasticity and that tendency to rapid growth which we might desire to see, and which would be looked for *if the requirements of progress in the expenditure are to be met*. And this should inspire us with caution in attempting to relinquish *any existing revenue* which can be collected without contravention of established economic principles.”

So that among “the established economic principles” of Sir Richard

Temple, those of a perpetual income-tax and perpetual progress in expenditure must clearly be included.

From this latest Budget exposition of the Viceregal Council at Calcutta, we also learn the fact, which I confess fills my mind with indignation and with the deepest anxiety, that thirteen millions and a-half sterling will now be annually required to meet the Secretary of State's drafts—that is to say, that one quarter of the gross revenue of India is to be remitted year after year to England. But the forbidden word "tribute" must not be applied to these remittances, or to any part of them. Call them what you will, explain them as you may, I do not think that the British Government can be said to have gained any credit in the eyes of that growing class of Indian taxpayers who are capable of forming some judgment on political affairs, or to have in any way won or deserved their confidence, by its recent financial administration, either here or in India.

More than four years ago, the Secretary of State, Sir Stafford Northcote, in a despatch dated 8th February, 1868, desired the Viceroy to devise measures for the introduction of qualified Natives to "a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment" in "the Regulation as well as in the non-Regulation Provinces" of India. The injunctions of the Secretary of State, founded on the reports of two Select Committees in 1860 and 1867, were fortified by subsequent minutes by two of the most able and distinguished members of the Indian Council—Sir Erskine Perry and Sir Bartle Frere. Provisions for carrying those injunctions into effect were introduced into the *Governor-General of India Act* of 1869. By Clause VI. of that Act, the Viceroy in Council was empowered to frame rules and regulations for the admission of Natives into the Covenanted Civil Service without any restriction as to age. Three years have passed away, and not only have no appointments been made, but the preliminary rules and regulations required by the Act have not yet made their appearance—have not yet been heard of.

But how, indeed, could the covenanted officials of Calcutta, naturally averse to such encroachments, believe that any serious pressure would be applied to enforce the injunctions of Her Majesty's Government—now four years old—or the Act of Parliament which was passed three years ago? The present Secretary of State, far from evincing the slightest wish to pursue the course prescribed by his predecessor and by the British Legislature, of "opening up to Natives of ability and character a more important, dignified, and lucrative sphere of employment in the administration of India," has adopted and inaugurated two new close services, from which Natives are practically excluded. Instead of instituting a school of Forest Conservancy in India, he has established a Forest Conservancy Department, recruited by pupils trained in Europe

at the expense of India, and who will, of course, at the end of their career, aggravate the Home Charges by their pensions. The college at Cooper's Hill—which has already cost about 120,000*l.*, and promises to be a burden of 10,000*l.* or 15,000*l.* a-year on the Indian revenues—is a scheme admirably adapted for the augmentation of Home patronage and Home expenditure, for discouraging Natives from entering the civil engineering profession, for destroying every ordinary inducement for a scientific education in India, and for barring the advance of the few Native Engineers who are now in the Public Works Department.

In justice to the lamented Earl of Mayo and his colleagues, it ought to be remembered that his Government gave no support at all to the plan for establishing in England a College to supply Civil Engineers to India. In a despatch dated 28th March, 1870, the Viceroy in Council deprecated that plan in the following terms: "We consider the success of such a College to be a matter of very great uncertainty." "We have great doubts that any real necessity exists for its immediate establishment." "We feel it incumbent on us to record our strong sense of the inexpediency of adopting any measures that shall lead to the creation of a fresh close service for India."* The Duke of Argyll persisted in it.

But we have even stronger grounds than this odious and iniquitous institution affords for supposing that the present Secretary of State has no intention of elevating the position of Native officials—that he has abandoned all notion of admitting any of them to the Covenanted Civil Service under the Act of 1869. One of the Duke of Argyll's latest measures—the despatch in which he desires that no more Europeans shall be placed in the Uncovenanted Service—looks very much as if he had finally given up all idea of promoting Natives to any of the higher offices; but had determined to compensate them for this degrading proscription by reserving for them the exclusive possession of the inferior branches of the service.

I cannot think that the treatment this question of the higher employment of educated Natives has received—since the report of the Select Committee of the Indian Council in 1860 down to the present day, with its liberal professions and retrograde measures—has been calculated to gain the confidence or to win the esteem of any class of the Indian population.

I shall now revert to the main object of this paper, which is, as I said before, not so much to inquire whether all has been done that ought to have been done to gain the trust and confidence of India, as whether

* "Papers, Engineering College at Cooper's Hill" (No. 115 of 1871), pp. 18, 19.

our Government has given and is now giving its confidence, in India, where confidence is due, and where it is wanted. My own conclusion, which I shall endeavour to justify, is that, besides the total absence of Native advice in the Executive Government of the Empire, and of the Provinces, besides the exclusion of Natives from the higher posts in the public service, the confidence of our Government has been withdrawn or withheld on every possible occasion from the most trustworthy persons and classes in India, with most detrimental results to Imperial power and influence, with most demoralizing and estranging effect upon those whose well-meant offers and efforts have been repelled and rejected. Yet this is not a time when we can afford to reject such aid, and to rely upon the personal experience, personal knowledge, and personal influence of English officers. Our English officers, as a class, are not acquiring, but losing such qualifications. As communications with home have become more rapid and frequent, as facilities for visiting Europe have been multiplied, the impersonality of our administration has become more complete and more marked. This gradual and insidious change, which, it may be feared, has not yet reached its worst development, has been observed and noted by several of the most distinguished and successful of our officials in India; as, for example, in the following extract from a book recently published by Mr. Bowring, formerly Private Secretary to Lord Canning, and late Commissioner of Mysore: "Imperfect knowledge of the vernacular dialects, and
 "of the just principles of law, and want of an intuitive perception of
 "Native ideas and requirements, are disadvantages which beset many
 "English officials, and for which no ability or high moral qualities will
 "make amends. It would seem that thirty or forty years ago English-
 "men associated more freely with Natives than is now the case, and
 "knew more of their habits of thought. Now more attention is paid
 "to a legal training, but an intimate acquaintance with Native pre-
 "judices is rarer than it used to be."*

The more an English gentleman has seen of Bengal and its inhabitants, the more does he find reason to understand what a mischievous caricature, however brilliant with epigram and antithesis, is the well-known description of the Bengalee character in one of Lord Macaulay's Essays. Such, at least, is the result of my own inquiries among well-informed friends; for I have seen little of Bengal with my own eyes, and my own acquaintance and intercourse with Bengalee gentlemen has taken place far from their own Provinces. From the little that I have seen and observed, from all that I have been able to digest as the final result of reading and inquiry, I have come to the conclusion that the

* "Eastern Experiences," pp. 211, 212.

common taunt against the Bengalees of their being devoid of physical courage is quite unfounded. The origin of the proverbial sneer against them is not very obscure. The prevalence among the tribes inhabiting the moist and warm districts on the Delta of the Ganges, of a somewhat slight frame and a flaccid muscular system, has made them—and this must have been more especially the case in the olden time, when armies fought with the spear and sword—less eligible as military recruits than people reared in a more bracing climate. Even this rule is not to be taken without numerous exceptions. It will, however, account for the fact that from time immemorial the Bengalees have not been in the habit of entering any military service. Still, one might have supposed that our Government at Calcutta, living in the midst of Bengalees, and having the best reasons to know the social and political conditions that have made them the most orderly population in India, and a population more attached and well-affected towards British rule than any other, would not have despised the suggestion that a select portion of that population should be organized as a military body for the defence of the law and for the protection of life and property against any disturbers of the peace, whether invaders or insurgents. And yet two, if not three, proposals for the formation of Volunteer battalions from well-accredited and responsible representatives of the Bengalee nationality, were declined by our Government. In one instance, I am credibly informed, a great zemindar, with the title of Rajah, offered to equip a Regiment at his own expense, if he were allowed, not the command, but merely a commission. The offer was refused.

I can understand and acknowledge that the acceptance of any such proposal, in the midst of an actual outbreak, might appear impolitic and undignified; but it, as I believe, the offer was made when mutiny and rebellion had ceased, I cannot understand the policy of our Government in rejecting it. It looks to me like a policy of distrust and contempt. A genial and sympathizing Government would, I think, have hailed in that offer not only a source of strength for itself, but an opportunity of encouraging a picked body of Bengalees to shake off, and to set an example thereby, some of those effeminate habits of which they are accused, and which the most enlightened among them deplore, and to adopt, in some of their leisure hours, more manly and healthful pursuits. I should have thought that a well-disciplined, well-armed, and well-commanded Regiment or two of Bengalees would have proved the most conspicuous and efficacious counter-balance to that Mussulman fanaticism in Bengal of which we have heard so much lately.

We have heard a great deal of Mussulman fanaticism of late. We have had sad and terrible proof that the existence of such a dangerous

element in Indian life is by no means imaginary. But I want to know what steps our Government has taken to sound the depths of the mystery in which that combination of religious faith, historic pride, and political ambition, which we call Mahomedan fanaticism, is involved, to understand its origin, to check its growth, to trace and to frustrate its method and its aims. That a great amount of ignorance on the subject prevails in quarters that ought to be well informed, we know. Even from the very interesting book by Dr. W. Hunter, of the Bengal Civil Service *—a book which, I presume, was not published without something like official permission—we can gather some notion of the errors into which the Government have fallen, and are likely to fall, from the little care that they have taken to supply themselves with accurate intelligence, either as to the views of well-disposed and moderate Mahomedans, or as to the tenets and objects of the more bigoted and violent sectaries. One blot in the book has been very clearly pointed out by Syud Ahmed Khan Bahadoor, C.S.I., in a pamphlet which many here may have seen, and that is that Dr. Hunter, and many other English officers, have erroneously confounded all sorts of Mussulman sectaries, many of them harmless enough, under the general appellation of "Wahabees." But, in fact, the greater number of Mahomedan fanatics in India are not Wahabees at all, but are very much at variance and enmity with the Wahabees. And, on the other hand, although there can be no doubt as to the reality of Wahabee fanaticism, many Wahabees are not fanatics at all. If I am not very much mistaken, Syud Ahmed Khan would have no objection to call himself a Wahabee; yet he is certainly neither a fanatic nor a bigot. The Syud is a noble example of an Indian Mussulman, learned and well-informed without having had an English education, a loyal subject of the British Crown, a faithful servant of the British Government, and yet proud of his own race and devoted to his own religion. There are many enlightened gentlemen of the Mahomedan faith like him, whose advice on the whole subject of inquiry would be invaluable. I wonder how many of them have been, in any form or by any process, called into the counsels of Government. I am afraid that neither the Viceregal Government nor the Government of Bengal puts any trust in them.

But we must not be too hard on the Bengal authorities. They have not been idle; they have done something. The Government of Bengal, of course with the sanction of the Viceregal Government, has taken certain steps in consequence of the two dreadful crimes that have been lately committed by Mussulman fanatics. It has strengthened the Cal-

* "Our Indian Mussulmans: Are they Bound to Rebel against the Queen?" Trübner and Co.

cutta Police. There was already an English officer at the head of the Calcutta Police with a salary of 1,800*l.* per annum. An additional Commissioner has now been appointed, with a salary of Rs.4,166 per mensem, or 5,000*l.* a-year, and a "special officer" with Rs.1,200 per mensem, or 1,500*l.* a-year; total, 6,500*l.* per annum for two English officers. No doubt they will soon get to the bottom of the Wahabee conspiracy. At any rate, such a measure as that—a measure for which there are so many precedents—is better than trusting to Natives, or placing them in a position of honour and authority.

I cannot dwell further upon this topic at present. I will only add that in my opinion there is much that is honourable and chivalrous in what is indiscriminately stigmatised as Mahomedan fanaticism, if we would only strive to analyse it justly, and to separate what is good in it from what is bad. That complex pride of race and creed and historical tradition which animates the more ardent spirits and vigorous characters among Indian Mahomedans, is a *force*, which the rulers of India should strive first to comprehend and then to control and to guide, for political and social purposes.

I said in an early passage of this paper that though the agents of our Government were placed in more close and intimate relations with Native Princes and their chief ministers than any other class of the inhabitants of India, yet that such a full harmony and confidential communion as could be desired did not exist between them. I am not going to enter on the vexed question of the causes which up to a very recent period may have led Native Princes and their counsellors to feel very doubtful as to the good-will and sympathy of the British Government, and to feel it impossible to place trust in even so much toleration as would permit of their existence during good behaviour. It should not be forgotten that the faultiness of the annexation policy did not merely consist in the destruction and spoliation of submissive and faithful dynasties, but that throughout the exposition of that policy in the minutes of Lord Dalhousie and his principal supporters, the instruction and improvement of Native States by British agency and influence were distinctly and repeatedly repudiated, not only as a hopeless task, but as a task that would be unprofitable to the Paramount Power. But we may hope that the true lesson on these points has been learned. The useful part in the Imperial system that can be filled by well-regulated Native States is now generally understood and acknowledged; and the possibility of reforming those that are badly regulated has been demonstrated by a sufficient number of examples.

The Foreign Department at Calcutta, though still tainted with too much of the old intolerant spirit, deserves more confidence now than it

did when Lord Canning assumed the reins of government. It has learned part of its lesson. Its tendency is no longer destructive. Its worst fault now is that of being obstructive; and this fault, as I shall endeavour to show, arises from an unreasonable want of trust. Native States are, indeed, allowed to live, but are not allowed to move and have their being in the paths they choose for themselves. They are pressed to make roads, but we dictate their direction. The enlightened statesman, the Nawab Salar Jung, who rules the dominions of the infant Nizam, consented—not, I suspect, without reluctance—to have a State railway constructed from the British frontier up to the walls of Hyderabad. The capital of one crore and eighteen lakhs of rupees (1,180,000) was raised, the interest being guaranteed and the land given by the Nizam's Government. The work is in progress, and the more nearly it approaches completion the more clearly does the Minister perceive how the toils are closing round him, how deeply this useless and unprofitable railroad—for it was never wanted except for our own military purposes, and never can pay—has committed and compromised the local independence of the Hyderabad State. If the *Times of India* of the 22nd May (received yesterday) may be believed—and its information is generally accurate—the prospects that have been recently revealed to the Nizam's Government are of the following description: The Resident takes the whole management and patronage of this undertaking on himself. This means not only that the Nizam's Government must supply the capital, guarantee the interest, and give the land for the line and buildings, but it means that his Minister and officers must have nothing to do with the management of the railway either during construction or after completion. It means that all the *employés* engaged will be nominated by the Resident, and will be paid through or by him. It means that no police or custom-house officer of the Nizam's dare go anywhere within the precincts of the ground allotted to the "State Railway." It means that broad stretches of forest land, on either side of the line, are made over to it and come under the Resident. It means that a strip of about 120 square miles of the Nizam's territory has been virtually handed over to the British Government.

This is only one instance—perhaps the latest—of what good reason the Native States have received to distrust our advice, our interference, and even our gifts.

But although Native Princes have had little cause to place trust in the disinterested and tolerant assistance of the Imperial Power in their internal efforts at improvement, I think it is manifest that they are much more ready to trust the British Government than the British Government is to trust them. They have much more of submission and

docility than the British Government has of sympathy and suavity. Our Government seems to have adopted as its principle the Scriptural text, "Put not your trust in Princes," very literally interpreted and specially applied for its own benefit and its own aggrandisement. Our Government will trust anyone rather than a Native Prince—it will trust a petty chieftain, a Thakoor, Bhoomia, or Grassia, rather than the Rajah or the Nawab, who is the petty chieftain's nominal Suzerain. In hundreds of such cases a Resident or Political Agent has contrived—doubtless with the best intentions, and the strongest convictions that he and his Government cannot have too much power—to constitute himself the appellate authority or standing arbitrator; thus converting the Prince's vassals into vassals of the British Government. This has been done sometimes by means of the old custom of a British guaranty, very much stretched and amplified, for the guaranty was only intended to secure the feudatory from confiscation and oppression, sometimes without even that pretext.

Woe betide a Native Prince in the present day if he has any originality of mind, and attempts to carry out his own ideas of reform in his own way, and in any special department which he flatters himself he has thoroughly mastered! Unless he has carefully sounded the Resident or Political Agent first, and obtained his approval and concurrence, any step out of the beaten track is sure to bring humiliation and loss on the presumptuous Prince.

A few years ago—in 1867—the Government of India, over which Lord Lawrence then presided, made a most remarkable and, as I venture to think, a most undignified and impolitic demonstration of its want of trust in Native Princes, by its arbitrary interference with the military predilections of the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior. This Prince, whose faithful allegiance to the Imperial Power had been severely tried and splendidly displayed during the rebellion of 1857, had taken extreme pains for some years in the discipline and exercise of his little army of 5,000 infantry, 36 guns, and 6,000 Irregular Cavalry, and usually kept the greater part of this force massed at his capital under his own eye. In unsuspecting complacency, he invited the Political Agent to witness a grand review of all the troops. The immediate result was a peremptory order from the Viceroy, in the form of a polite letter to the Maharajah, desiring that this little army should at once be broken up, the several corps dispersed about the country, and that no such large assemblage of troops should again take place. The published reports of the Political Agents for Central India tell us how galling this affront, so publicly administered and aimed at the tenderest point, was to the Maharajah Scindia. The Maharajah's moral influence and authority was lowered,

but it will, I think, puzzle the ablest apologist of the Calcutta Foreign Office to show what was gained for the British Government by this fussy and vexatious intervention.

What a great statesman would have done under the circumstances would have been something very different. He would have congratulated and complimented the Maharajah on the efficiency and smartness of his troops, and on his having commenced of his own accord the reform of his establishments by that of his army, and would then have suggested some other public department where improvements, hinted or sketched in outline, might be introduced. He would have enlisted the Maharajah Scindia as a soldier of the Queen by obtaining for him Her Majesty's commission as General within his own territories. And for my part, I cannot conceive how Native troops, properly organized and subject to Imperial inspection, can be kept under any control equally effective with that of a Native Prince, whose personal and hereditary ties and engagements constitute a chain of subordination and responsibility to the Paramount Power, more clearly defined and more easily enforced than any that has ever yet existed or can be devised.

If our Indian Government desires to draw the greatest possible access of strength to itself, to relieve Great Britain from a great strain on her military resources, and to promote solid and permanent progress in India, the Native States may be made to contribute both directly and indirectly to those objects more than could be derived from any territorial acquisitions at their expense, or by any conceivable augmentation of the revenues of British India. But in order to bring about this most desirable consummation, principles must be laid down for the guidance of our Residents and Political Agents very different from those on which they are now accustomed to act. Native Princes must be encouraged and assisted to consolidate and organize their administration, instead of every occasion and excuse being seized for weakening their authority and breaking up their territorial jurisdiction. They must be allowed and enabled to reduce all minor authorities to reasonable and regular subordination. Without well-considered measures in that direction there is hardly any Native State in which judicial reform is possible. Colonel Keatinge, lately the Governor-General's Agent in Rajpootana, gave a strong hint on the subject in a recently published report. "Stagnant as no doubt the condition of society is in Native States, there are Chiefs who desire a reform, but the opposition they meet from their nobles is so serious that they can seldom accomplish much. Before long it will, I apprehend, be necessary for Government to recognise openly this difficulty, to collect reliable information on the subject, and to promulgate general rules regarding the extent to which

"it expects nobles in their different degrees to render obedience to their Chiefs. At present, neither the Chiefs, the nobles, nor even the political staff, have a clear understanding on the subject."

It has really come to this, that if a Native Prince wishes to lead a quiet life, he had better not attempt any reforms at all. No change or innovation can be carried out in any system of administration in any country of the world—and least of all, perhaps, in India—without offending and alarming some old beliefs and prejudices, and threatening, if not injuring, some vested interests. If the Native Prince, from a desire to please the local English representative, on whose reports, as he very well knows, his reputation and consideration with the Imperial Government depend, consents to institute such reforms as the Political Agent suggests and plans, he will have no rest at home. All the ancient prejudices and vested interests are stirred up against him; his own relatives, the old adherents and servants of his House, beset him with their remonstrances,—and not without reason. For it is almost certain that the measures recommended by the British authorities will not only have more or less manifest reference, direct or indirect, to some purely Imperial interest, but will at least, in the opinion of the Political Agent, be incapable of introduction without the aid of some extraneous persons in whom he has confidence, and whom he must be allowed to nominate. The Prince is no longer master in his own house; he loses dignity and influence. Strange officials are brought into his dominions, who look up to the Political Agent and not to him, as their patron and protector. Still more unpleasant will be the Native Prince's position if he ventures on a reforming course in any direction, or in any department of administration, without first consulting the Resident or Political Agent, and obtaining his approval and concurrence. Should he rashly embark on any such unsanctioned enterprise, the old prejudices and vested interests will, of course, be stirred up in proportion to the extent and importance of the proposed change. And instead of being left to an unequal struggle against the combined force of Prince and Political Agent, the malcontents and remonstrants will now be sure of being able to make their cries heard even at Bombay or Calcutta, through the powerful British functionary whose counsel has been slighted. All that are in distress and all that are discontented will now find a secure Cave of Adullam in the British Residency.

We have a good example of the truth of this, and also of the absolute reliance placed on the reports of a Political Agent by our Government, however much to the discredit of a Native Prince, and although the Prince himself may never have been asked for an explanation, in the Reports of the Central India Agency for the last five or

six years, relating to the Maharajah Holkar of Indore. The Indore territories do not contain a greater population, or yield more revenue than one of the districts of the Madras Presidency, and are not, therefore, too extensive for the personal supervision of the Rajah himself. The Maharajah Holkar has had a good English education, and the Reports abound with acknowledgments of his administrative ability and of his determination to see into everything with his own eyes. One would suppose that such a ruler might be trusted, unless some very conclusive evidence to the contrary appeared, to carry out a settlement of the land revenue within his own dominions. The assessment of the land revenue in the various Presidencies and Provinces of British India has not been the most successful feature in our administration. Conflicting and contradictory principles have been laid down by various authorities at various periods, and the economical and fiscal problems connected with the subject still remain unsettled.

It is difficult to understand why our Government should jump to the conclusion that their Political Agent at Indore—a distinguished military officer—should be a better judge by hearsay of the revenue settlement of Indore than the Maharajah himself, who had personally made the settlement. However fair and equitable the assessment of a higher rate on a revision of the land revenue may be, no ryot is ever satisfied or pleased with the change, and Holkar's ryots were no exception to the rule. The Maharajah seems to have undertaken the new settlement without the previously obtained sanction of the Political Agent—though of course no such sanction could have been properly required, or was authorized by treaty—and consequently the Political Agent was prepared, by official instinct and tradition, to set it down, on small provocation, as an oppressive proceeding. And so he did. Of course, in such a state of things, if a rumour gets abroad that the British Resident does not approve, every zemindar or ryot who considers himself to be over-assessed will complain loudly to the last moment, if he can get anyone to listen. And thus, though I confess only by inference from the published papers, I account for the bad report written to the Government of India on the revenue settlement of Indore by the Political Agents. I conceive myself to be justified in drawing this inference, because I find that, after the first bad report, every successive year contains some candid admission by the successive Political Agents that further explanations by the Maharajah had somewhat modified their unfavourable opinion. The gist of the explanation, supported, the Agent says, by “the settlement papers of some three or four villages, which were drawn up most clearly and creditably, and which “certainly quite bore out his statements,” was that the new settlement was based on a careful survey of each village, which deprived

many landholders, as well as the local officials, of the illicit profits they had been deriving from unassessed land, now brought under assessment, and that these influential persons had done their best to alarm the cultivators and to bring the measure into popular discredit. The Maharajah also pointed out the great rise in the prices of all agricultural produce, and the enhanced assessments, on quite as high a scale as in the Indore territories, in the nearest British districts and in the adjacent Native States of Dhar and Dewass. But the mischief had been done before the Maharajah Holkar had ever been allowed the opportunity of making any of these explanations to the British Government. Acting at once on the report of the Political Agent, without reference to the Sovereign Prince on whom the imputations were cast, the Viceroy, the late lamented Lord Mayo, who can, of course, have had no means of personally satisfying himself of their accuracy or justice, took occasion to express a feeling of dissatisfaction on the subject in an interview with the Maharajah Holkar at Jubbulpore. And this was followed up by a despatch to the Governor-General's Agent in Central India, dated April 22, 1870, expressly written to be communicated to the Maharajah, and published almost immediately afterwards in all the newspapers, in which his Excellency in Council hopes that the Maharajah Holkar may "be induced to adopt a more liberal system of revenue administration," "hopes," also, "that the advice given by the Viceroy to the Maharajah at Jubbulpore will not fail to have good effect, and that when your next report is submitted, there will be less occasion for unfavourable comment."

It puzzles me to understand how a Native Prince can be expected to undertake any administrative reform on his own responsibility, to maintain his legitimate authority, or to co-operate effectually and cheerfully with the British Government, if he is exposed to these mortifying rebukes on such very slight grounds, and without any allegation of injury or embarrassment to British interests, or of the violation of treaty engagements.

If our Government would make up its mind to trust the Native States a little more, and to give their rulers something to hope for, some play for their energies, some little scope for their legitimate ambition, the advantages of a policy of trust and confidence would soon be apparent. The time may come, sooner than we expect, when the British rulers of India may want some one whom they can trust, and who will trust them.

SYED AMEER ALI KHAN, M.A., LL.B., after passing some compliments on the talent displayed by the Lecturer, proceeded to say that he

quite agreed with Major Bell's observations respecting the Mahomedans of India. Many erroneous notions were entertained both in England and in India regarding the fanaticism of the Mahomedans. It might be true, that amongst a certain section of the Mahomedans a feeling of discontent on religious grounds was observable; but, generally speaking, the Mussulmans of India are as well affected towards the British Government as any other section of the Indian subjects of Her Majesty. He was quite sure, that if the Mahomedans were trusted and taken into the counsel of the ruling people, their sympathy and support would be enlisted on the side of the British Government, and a death-blow would be given to the hopes of every disaffected person in India. At this moment there are but two Indian members in the Viceregal Council; and even if there were more, it would be a legitimate subject of complaint, that the method of selection was such as did not enable the members to be chosen from among men sufficiently acquainted with the wants and wishes of the whole body of their countrymen, and sufficiently intelligent or independent to enforce their views. Wherever the Mussulmans have been trusted, they have never failed in their duty, or given cause to show that such trust was misplaced; and in order not to be too lengthy, he could only repeat that the British can do nothing better towards the conciliation of this important race than to trust them fully, and to speak less in that taunting manner which is becoming habitual to the politicians of England.

SYED JAAFER HOSAIN (N.W. Provinces) said the address of Major Bell involved the most important principles—so important that they could not be overrated. The paper in its very title pointed to trust as the basis of Imperial policy in India, and no doubt if the masses of the people of India could be induced to trust implicitly in the Government, they would no longer entertain those feelings of displeasure and discontent at the acts of their rulers; and even now the masses of the people think themselves fortunate in being under English rule, and adhere to the Government with firmness and sincerity and loyalty. Yield to them some slight and just concessions, and there is no doubt they would be as loyal as Canada and other colonies. What, then, should be done by the Government to secure the confidence of the Natives? Major Bell, who united great experience and knowledge with remarkable perspicuity of style, had pointed out the remedies so clearly that nothing was needed in addition. He would, however, venture to give a few reasons out of many that he had for accounting for the discontent of the Indian people. And, first of all, there was ignorance on the part of the Administrators of what the people of India really need, and what they do not need. The results of this ignorance are visible in every depart-

ment of the Government; but on this occasion he would confine his remarks to one part only—the Legislature. As India contains within itself people of various nationalities, differing in creeds, in habits, in manners, and in modes of life, as much as the people inhabiting the countries of Europe, it is very difficult for a foreigner who has not made the matter his special study, who has not gained experience by long and observant residence in the country, to understand the real necessities of the people. And if such a foreigner is called upon to legislate for the people of whom he knows nothing, he labours under exceptional difficulties; and laws emanating from such a source, however well-intentioned, will scarcely ever be found to meet the approval of the masses. More often than not it will be found to offend the masses, whose untrained intellects regard with alarm any new thing, and who are thus induced to suspect even good measures of Government. This feeling of suspicion and distrust—though, perhaps, insignificant now—keeps ever increasing, in consequence of the continual adoption of unsuitable measures, and is at last transformed into chronic disaffection. The Marriage Bill was an instance of this inconsiderate and ill-advised legislation. It was a law not called for by the people, and it is regarded by them with great dislike. While it was in embryo the people protested against it, but the Government gave no heed. The ignorance of the Administrators of India is productive of bad results, not only to themselves, but also to the nation, for it raises that unreasoning feeling of suspicion to which he had referred previously. And thus it came about that whatever a European does in India, is taken as coming direct from the fountain-head of Government, and is done at great disadvantage. No doubt this feeling has greatly decreased of late, owing to the spread of knowledge; but even now the number of men who can and do make a distinction between the acts of an unofficial European and the acts of the Government, is insignificant compared with the number of those who fail to make any such distinction. It is for this reason that whatever may be the effect of the missionaries' schools, their manner of preaching (which he was sorry to say has been found at Agra and Allahabad offensive to the feelings both of Hindus and Mahomedans), the proneness of English officers to encourage these schools, and other things that come under the category of "the acts of an unofficial European," produce on the ignorant masses an impression as unfavourable and no less strong now than was the case sixteen years ago. He did not desire it to be understood that he believed it to be desirable to abolish these schools; far from it. But the English Government should take some steps to supply a link between themselves and the people; for unless some such step is taken, there is no hope of speedy conciliation between

the two nations. These two evils—the misunderstanding on the part of the officials, and the misunderstanding on the part of the people—will, and must, remain until a mode is devised of procuring a due representation of the opinions of the people in the councils of the State, and listening to their voice in matters affecting their own interests. This might be effected, if not by the admission of Native representatives in the House of Commons, at least by their admission to the Legislative Councils of India. This, however, would not be all that was required. To obtain the friendship and affection of the Indians as private individuals, dependence must not be placed entirely on public legislation; there must be something more than that. It is a matter of common observation that many Natives, otherwise content with the British rule, are prejudiced by the excessive bluntness and discourtesy with which they are treated by English officials. If the English would treat the Natives in a way worthy of themselves, they would effect more than all the legislation of 100 years could bring about—they would secure the friendship of the people. The disastrous outbreak of 1857 was the fruit of the policy of insulting and disregarding the opinions of the Indian people; and if ever such another rising should, unhappily, occur, it will be due to the same cause. And this reflection leads to the consideration of another point—the treatment of those not under the direct rule of Government—the Native Princes of India and semi-independent rulers of States. These men have already contributed immensely to the permanence of the British rule and supremacy, and they would, without a doubt, do so again. Nevertheless, but little consideration has been shown to them, and in defiance of the promises made in Her Majesty's Proclamation, and in defiance of special treaties, their rights and privileges have been grievously interfered with. And more than this—when smarting under a sense of wrong, they have been denied the opportunity of presenting their cases to their Sovereign, and have not only been infamously treated by the English Government, but have been held up to the derision of the House of Commons by great officers of the State. It is idle for Englishmen to reply that these Princes have never done anything to express their detestation of the course adopted by the Government concerning the cases to which he referred. They would never do that, because for generations they had been accustomed to avoid giving expression to their dissent from the opinions of the ruling power; fearing the arbitrary power of the officers of the Indian Government, they remain silent. But they are not the less sensible of the injustice put upon them, and they must feel that even Her Majesty's Proclamation, which sounded so fair, was in truth merely a subtle invention of State-craft, designed only to delude them. For this reason, he sincerely hoped the petition presented

by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce would receive the earnest attention of the House of Commons, and he fervently hoped that some tribunal would be established which would be competent to decide the disputes which have arisen between the Indian Government and the Native Princes and Chiefs. The speaker concluded by thanking the meeting for the attention with which they had favoured the remarks he had ventured to make.

SRINATH DATTA said he would not have presumed to rise if it were merely to express his hearty thanks for the excellent lecture which had been delivered by Major Bell; but the Lecturer, while touching on almost every question concerning the welfare of the Natives of India, except high education, had left room for a few remarks which he would venture to make regarding the Civil Service. Most of those assembled there were doubtless aware that there were some applications in 1868 to the Secretary of State, praying for the holding of the Civil Service examinations in the presidential towns of India simultaneously with those now held in London, and in the same manner. From some objections, which were not stated at the time, and have not been revealed since, the Government declared that it could not accede to this prayer. They, however, made two concessions, which since that period have, unfortunately, been almost withdrawn. The first was the introduction into Parliament of a Bill empowering the Governor-General to appoint the competent Natives of India to the offices now so monopolized by the Civil servants, without compelling their attendance at the examinations in England. The second concession—which, while it followed the first, had no necessary connection with it—was the establishment of scholarships to send intelligent Indian students to this country to complete their education. It was no part of the condition to obtain these scholarships that the scholar should appear for the Civil Service of India; the students might graduate in medicine or arts, or might learn engineering, or any other independent profession. But, unhappily, one week before the second examination for these scholarships, a despatch from his Grace the Duke of Argyll, the new Secretary of State for India, reached Calcutta with the order that they should be discontinued, on the grounds, as we have been told, that the Governor-General has power already to appoint the competent Natives to the higher offices without compelling them to come to England; and that therefore the further retention of the scholarships was useless. There might have been some consolation—though the argument of the Secretary of State is most frivolous—if the edict which entrusted the Governor-General with the additional power just mentioned had not proved a dead letter. But, strangely enough (when asked by Sir Charles Wingfield), the Under-Secretary of State for

India answered that he did not know much of the clause by which the scholarships were imagined to be made useless. Under these circumstances it is difficult to determine whether there is a deliberate insincerity or an unjustifiable ignorance among the Ministers at the head of the Indian Government. The Marriage Bill had been referred to by a former speaker, and he would wish to remind the meeting that the Natives of India are allowed to believe in the religion of their forefathers, and, what is still more important, are not prohibited from becoming converts to a new religion. The apostates to new religions are, by the *Lex Loci* Act, as much entitled to inherit the property of their parents as they would be without any such change. This law of religious toleration, which does not punish apostacy from Mahomedanism and Brahminism, but rather encourages it, was, and is still, strongly opposed by most of the Natives of the country. It was not the time or place to defend the Government for the passage of this excellent law, but he might say that this law was applied in the case of the Native Christians and the Hindu widows by legalizing their marriages. It was the mere application of the same law when the new Marriage Bill, with the amendments by Mr. Stephens, which made it unobjectionable, at least in Bengal, was passed through the Legislative Council of India. In conclusion, the speaker urged that the Government were entirely justified in passing a general law instead of confining it to the members of the Brahmo Somaj, as there is a great portion of the educated Natives—in Bengal especially—who, though agreeing with the Brahmos in social opinions and partaking in their disbelief in Hinduism, do materially differ from the Brahmos in their religious convictions.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said he should be sorry to allow a matter of such great importance as this to pass without saying a few words, especially as it was one in which he had always taken a deep and continuous interest. In treating the topic, the Lecturer had raised so many important points which it would be profitable to discuss, that it was difficult to confine one's remarks within the proper limits; but he thought he perceived in the able address of Major Bell two points which were of the first importance. One of these was the character of what the Lecturer had called Mahomedan fanaticism; and the other that principle of trust which the Lecturer had urged as the basis of Imperial policy, as it is, in fact, of all policy. With regard to Mahomedan fanaticism, he cordially agreed with the remark that, however pernicious is the exceptional fanaticism of the Puritan Mahomedans—the Wahabees—there was in the great body of the people a decided feeling of loyalty to the British Government. Looking at the Wahabee movement from a Mahomedan point of view, he rather admired

it. If we appreciated perseverance, conscientious religious feeling, contempt for danger, dauntless courage, persistence and resolution in pursuing what is thought to be a right end,—if we admire all these qualities, then the Wahabee or fanatic Mahomedan deserves some admiration, at least from the Mahomedans themselves, though certainly not from the members of the British Government. But, irrespective of this exceptional sect, which has caused such terrible mischief in India during the last ten or twelve years, he could say, from his own experience as an officer placed over a large and important district, that in his action against the Wahabee conspirators, the most zealous and hearty co-operation was received by him from individual Mahomedans. And although his personal experience might be said to be limited to that province, yet he stated it as a fact worthy of consideration. The second question referred to that particular point in the English Administration in which the Government is brought into collision with the interests and welfare of the Indian Princes, and this he felt was one of the most vital questions of the day. Hitherto, during the struggles of the English for dominion in India, when the empire was in its infancy, a summary system of inquiry and adjudication was unavoidable, and individual discontent and occasional failure of justice were counterbalanced by political security. But such necessity no longer exists; our power is paramount, and beyond dispute, and failure of justice is a grave cause of discontent. The feeling at present may be like the cloud no bigger than a man's hand; but the time may come when it will overspread the whole heavens. Admitting, therefore, that the power of summary adjudication was a necessity of former times, it must be remembered that the times have altered greatly. Hence, the great question is, how to extricate the Government from its so-called political system, and to induce them to regulate their proceedings by the established principles of law and justice. We must remember that we have lately given India the power of rapid locomotion. The consequence is that chiefs who lived secluded and unknown under the old condition of affairs, can now put themselves in easy communication with the great centres of Government, and have intercourse with each other. So that we hear of great rajahs and princes, who, in the olden time, would have held dancing to be confined to the professional nautch girl, and utterly inconsistent with the dignity of the Native gentleman, now eagerly soliciting the hand of the governor's lady, in the fantastic mazes of a quadrille. This he mentioned as a striking instance of the change in the relative position of the Natives and the Government; and we must therefore change the system of our relations with these rulers. We cannot any longer safely say to them that, because they are Princes, they are not entitled to the same

privileges as the poorest Native. We, who pride ourselves on our courts of justice, and on the impartiality with which law is administered, cannot say that justice shall be given to the coolie and the barber, but shall be denied to the prince and the rajah. And we are daily and monthly brought into that particular state of relationship in which great questions not only of political supremacy, but simple right and wrong—questions affecting the claims of Princes to large sums of money—have to be decided by the Government, which is itself a claimant, on one side, with a Native Prince on the other. And under the veil of political expediency, we decide in our own favour, without one of those guarantees for righteous judgment which are vouchsafed to the lowest ryot and labourer, and without that special security—viz., publicity. This is a great and important question; and he was glad to see that the Lecturer appeared fully aware of its extreme gravity. In debates of this kind they were too apt to lose themselves in the mazes of speculative theories, and not to concentrate their efforts and the influence of the Association upon practical questions. But on this occasion practical issues had been laid before them to which they would do well to confine their attention—the expediency of admitting Natives into our Administrative Councils in India, the policy of ascertaining the opinion of Natives on all questions of legislation, and the absolute necessity for providing a court for the decision and adjudication of every question which may arise between the Princes and the Government, except those of a strictly political nature, in which secrecy was, on strong and exceptional grounds, considered indispensable.

SYED MAHMOOD, referring to the remarks which had fallen from previous speakers regarding the Wahabee sect, said that any one who read Dr. Hunter's book on the Indian Mussulmans could not fail to find that it was written by one who, having all his life served the Indian Government, showed, in more than one place, that he was influenced by no very friendly feeling towards the people of whom he wrote. No doubt there have been instances where Wahabees have been found acting against the British Government, and endeavouring to rouse men against the rule of the Christians; but it would be a great mistake and a gross injustice to assert that because a few individual members of this sect have shown disaffection, the whole sect should be condemned as conspiring traitors, or at least as entertaining anything but friendly feeling to the British Government. He was extremely anxious that this first distinction should be drawn, because he believed most strongly that the ordinary Mahomedan of the great body of the people is a staunch supporter of the British rule in India. The feeling of distrust, if it existed, would be natural; for the people find it

difficult to understand that, although the Government is a Christian one, it is not a religious Government. The very traditions of the Mahomedan race, extending through many centuries, teach them to think that there cannot be a Government which has no religious bias ; and it is hard for them to believe that the present Government is perfectly independent and indifferent to the religious professions of its subjects. With this idea in their minds, they are prone to regard some of the movements of the Government as intended to discourage their religion and encourage Christianity. No doubt this feeling is based on erroneous impressions. No doubt the British Government is, as it says it is, not influenced by its religious belief, and is in most cases impartial in its administration of justice, regardless of the creed of the people coming under its laws ; yet the last speaker had expressed his opinion that the stricter the Mahomedan the more formidable he is to the British Government. What, then, is to be done ? Shall attempts be made to repress the number of strict Mahomedans, and encouragement be energetically offered to any other doctrine which does not make the people so strict ? In other words, shall the Government actively encourage a looseness of religious belief and a corresponding laxness of the moral principles of action ? Surely not. It would be a hard thing if earnestness of religious belief should draw upon a man the accusation that he was disaffected to the Government ; and it would be still more unfortunate if every true Mahomedan should hold it to be his duty to wage war against the Christian Government. Fortunately, this was not really the case. He confessed that he was himself a believer, in almost every respect, of the truth of the religious tenets of the Wahabees. He held their teaching to be Mahomedanism in its purest and best form, freed from the superstitions which had overgrown it ; and entertaining these convictions, his opinion was that the Wahabee was in his religion a better man than other Mahomedans, and he was convinced that the allegiance of the Wahabee was not less sincere, since Wahabecism contained nothing which made it inherently antagonistic to the British rule or to the cause of order. On the contrary, one of the main principles of the sect was to hold peace. And so long as they were not interfered with in their religious convictions, so long as impartiality was exhibited to them, they would not be other than among the most loyal subjects in Her Majesty's dominions. In conclusion, the speaker reiterated his earnest conviction of the errorneousness of the vulgar opinion that to be a Wahabee was to be a conspirator.

Mr. JONES said it was a discredit that the debate should be carried on so largely by Native gentlemen, without any remarks from English speakers, for it seemed as if the power of England was being usurped at

the very head-quarters. Not that he objected to this; on the contrary, it had given him great pleasure to listen to the talent displayed by the Native speakers, and the ability they exhibited in the use of the English language. The debates of the Association afforded these gentlemen an arena which they did not possess in their own country, and their admission to English society emboldened them to speak with frankness on the topics which affected the Indian Empire. Much reference had been made to the existence or non-existence of a feeling of insubordination, and it seemed to be forgotten that it was impossible but that the English must create insubordination for themselves in India. It was contrary to the instincts of human nature that men could listen to the lessons conveyed by a study of the history of the English race without a feeling of patriotism being roused within them, and the wish that they, like the English, might free their country from the yoke of the foreigner. In consideration of the example the English set before them, what wonder if the Natives of India were somewhat insubordinate! They read, for instance, that the oppressions and exactions of Italian bishops gave an impulse to the Reformation in England. They read that when the conquering Normans came, it was long ere they could get a settlement, and then only by their losing their Normanity. The title of "Great" to King Alfred was a constant incentive to imitate his valour. We teach the Indian people all these great lessons to be gained from the history of a great and free people; we urge them to imitate us, and we consequently encourage the very feeling of insubordination of which complaint is made. As well might it be expected that the placing of the kettle on the fire would not make the water boil, as to expect that under such circumstances discontent should not exist. But holding these opinions, the Native also should consider that while England rules the sea, India is safe from the perils of foreign invasion, and that in seeking release from one evil they would probably fall into a greater. With the British rule in India existing on such a tenure, it was of the greatest importance that the relations of the Government with the Native Princes should be friendly, for it had been well said that friendly feeling was stronger than Acts of Parliament. An illustration of this was afforded at home in England. What makes the antagonism between the working and the upper classes, the tradesmen and the aristocracy, so strong? What else than the insult and the contempt with which manhood is treated by those who affect superiority over their fellows? And could it be expected that men should be insulted, either in England or India, without their feeling resentment, and without either a muttered or outspoken indignation? A real recognition of their rights, and a conduct appropriate, is what the Natives have a right to expect. Not a

few unacknowledged benefits have we received from India, and amongst the rest that reputation for polished demeanour which—though naturally a barbarous people—we enjoy among the nations of Europe. Courtesy and all the amenities of social life are prominent in the best classes of Indian Native society, and it is impossible for the English rulers not to imbibe some of this spirit. A people so sensitive and observant of the due relations between man and man are naturally keenly resentful of the insolent airs affected by their English rulers; and it might not be a foolish suggestion, that competition for the Indian Civil Service might with great advantage include instruction in good manners, and that, while Euclid and Latin and other subjects likely to be useful to the Indian officer were properly studied, the art of good breeding and politeness should not be forgotten. Speaking seriously, it must be seen that the foundation of the spirit of friendship towards the Natives must consist in our ability to do them service; we must recognise their rights, and must also keep ourselves so continually ahead of them in intellect and knowledge, as that they may always reap advantage from association with us. The men therefore who go to India should be men of superior nature, capable of instructing and advancing the interests of the people of India. Our troops may be useful to repress an outbreak of violent irritation, but our permanent security in India must consist in our honourable conduct and in our intelligent administration. Unhappily, our conduct had not always been so honourable as could have been wished; and it was painful to him to hear a Native gentleman speak of the gross injustice done in respect to the examinations or appointments in the medical military service of the Government. It appeared only too certain that advantage was taken of every quibbling pretence to avoid trusting the Natives with posts of honour and importance. The magnificent Queen's proclamation to her subjects was grand and high sounding, but we did not fulfil it—we did not act in its professed spirit. Instances of this could be multiplied; it would be sufficient to point to our treatment of the Begum of Oude. In the time of our weakness the rulers of Oude rendered vital service to the Government, but in the time of our strength these services were forgotten, and the appeal for justice was treated with scorn. The speaker concluded by expressing his thanks to Major Bell for his able lecture.

Sir CHARLES WINGFIELD (Vice-President of the Association) said he had come so late that he did not hear Major Bell's address; but from the remarks which had fallen from Mr. William Tayler, he concluded that two points had been mainly urged—the creation of some important tribunal in this country to adjudicate in cases where Indian Princes appeal from the decisions of the Indian Government, and, secondly, the

admission of the Natives to some share in the administration of their country. As to the first point, the establishment of a superior tribunal, he was decidedly of opinion that it was a want very much felt; but he would make a careful distinction between the classes of cases that occur—that is to say, between offences committed, or alleged to have been committed, by these Princes against the British Government, and offences against their own subjects. As regards the first class of cases, where the charge is treason or disaffection to the British Government, no tribunal could be allowed to interfere; the Government must be absolute judge, for it would be trenching on its authority as a sovereign power to allow its acts to be called in question by any court, however exalted. In the other class of cases, where the charge against the Prince is, not that he has been guilty of disaffection or treasonable practices towards the British Government, but that he has misgoverned or done violence to any of his subjects, the establishment of such a court of appeal is very necessary. It seemed a monstrous thing that an Indian Prince accused of a crime should be placed in a worse position than the humblest British subject. The poorest subjects can be tried by two or three courts, can be defended by counsel, and can ultimately appeal against the decision. But in the case of a feudatory Prince of India, judgment is passed on the report of the political officer, with closed doors; and it is quite possible, as the Tonk case showed, that the accused may know nothing of the evidence against him until long after the decision has been pronounced; and then his appeal can only lie to a Secretary of State, who has already confirmed the proceedings of the Indian Government, and thereby committed himself to an adverse decision in the case. In respect to Major Bell's other recommendation—the admission of the Natives to the councils of the Government—he had himself several times urged it in the House of Commons very strongly. What was wanted for such provincial government was not merely what were called consultative councils, whose advice might be taken or rejected, as pleased the presiding European officer, but councils in which the Native members should have a real influence on the deliberations; and these councils should not be merely nominative, but elected on the principle of direct representation, and be invested with an authority which could not be ignored. Now that education was rapidly spreading among the people, and now that the principle of local taxation for local purposes had been introduced, it seemed to him that in reason and policy the people should have a voice, not only in the expenditure, but also in the raising the funds they are asked to contribute. We have been educating the people highly; and in all the great cities there are many who read the English newspapers, while a still larger number read the articles as translated in the Native press. Under these

circumstances, there naturally arises a desire in the Native mind to take part in the management of their own affairs; and if we wish to carry the people with us in our measures of improvement, we should yield to this desire. The title of Major Bell's address was "Trust," by which he gathered that a policy of trust and confidence was advocated by him. In this he entirely concurred, and he strongly disliked the policy of suspicion which seemed to actuate so many in respect to the Native Princes. He had always held that next to the European troops the Native Princes contributed most to save our empire during the mutinies. If some of these powerful Princes—such as the Rajah of Puttulu, Scindiah Holkar—had turned against us in the mutiny, we should have had to reconquer India up from Calcutta. He remembered some remarks on this point which Lord Canning made in 1860 to a deputation of the talookdars of Oude who had waited upon him with an address. His Excellency said he "valued this expression of their feelings" because it was a proof that, in spite of bygone animosities and the "widest differences of race, religion, and social usage, a *generous and truthful* policy was the wisest way to make a dutiful and loyal people."

Mr. VENCATASAWMY NAIDOO (of Madras) pointed out that in fact it was the poorer classes of India who were the sources of the increased and improving revenues of the British Government in India; and yet they were the least benefited by the English rule. Speaking of his own city, he said it was horribly dirty, full of the foulest smells; its roads were vile, and its lighting bad. While the Government were drawing large revenues from Madras, they did practically little or nothing to prevent cholera, but saw men die by hundreds, and even thousands, in the city because of its foul sanitary condition. All this while the enterprise of the poor people was restricted by heavy general and heavy local taxation—so much so that their spirit was broken and they were unable to advance in the path of civilization. He therefore very strongly urged the East India Association—whose advocacy of the cause of the Natives was known all over India—that it should direct its influence against the imposition of new taxation, and by thus relieving the sufferings of the people secure their rise and advancement. The poorer classes of India had the greatest claims on the sympathy of the English, for they were patient, obedient, and industrious; they praised the English Government, and were its faithful adherents; and it was to the English Government they looked for an amelioration of the evils to which he had alluded. The speaker concluded by heartily thanking Major Bell for his excellent address.

The CHAIRMAN said he was aware that it was his place to be silent, and he should not have spoken but for some remarks which he had heard

from Mr. Vencatasawmy Naidoo. Major Bell's address divided itself into two parts—the giving to, and gaining the trust of the Indian people. As to the first topic, giving trust, it had been considered with reference to Princes and People. With regard to the extension of trust to the Princes of India, he was free to confess that, in his opinion, gathered from a thirty years' experience, the English Government had failed to give any trust whatever to those rulers. But he could not say the same with respect to the people. It should not be forgotten that great advances had been made in the promotion of the Natives to offices of trust, honour, and emolument during the last thirty years. Offices are now open to Natives, which a generation ago neither European nor Indian dreamed they would be allowed to fill. Deputy collectorships, registrarships, and magistracies and seats in the Legislative Councils are being occupied by Native gentlemen in an increasing proportion. No greater trust could perhaps be shown than in the appointment of Native gentlemen to the magistracies, because in that capacity they were called upon to adjudicate over Europeans as well as Natives. And still higher positions are opening themselves to Natives, as is exemplified by the fact that two of the seats in the High Court of Calcutta are filled by Native gentlemen; and he hoped soon to see the time when Natives would be occupying similar positions in the Courts of Bombay and Madras. He knew, within his own knowledge, that there are not wanting Natives capable of filling these high posts with credit and efficiency; and he was strongly of opinion that the period had arrived for such concessions, which, if given now, would be accepted as a favour, but if delayed, may eventually be demanded as a right. While pointing out that something has been done in the way of admitting the Natives to a share in the work of the Government, he freely admitted that it was not enough; and he feared there was too much truth in the statement, that of late years there has been a disposition to retrogression in this matter. This is a palpably unwise policy, because education has spread so rapidly and so widely, and the power of thinking and reasoning has so largely increased, that a denial of the fair and reasonable rewards and fruits of education may be attended with the most dangerous consequences. If the natural corollary of the educational policy of the Government be not followed out—if what the Natives are justified in anticipating be not yielded—we must not be surprised if a perilous moment should arrive, when the discontent stated to prevail so largely among important classes of the people, will be increased, and not without justification. As regards the Princes of India, he quite concurred with previous speakers in viewing with approval the proposal to establish a tribunal for the settlement of

disputes. As regards the second division of Major Bell's subject—that of gaining the trust of the Natives—it suggested the reflection that it seemed to be taken for granted by all the speakers in the debate that the existence of discontent on the part of the Natives is an indisputable fact; and he certainly thought there were good reasons for the supposition that there is, if not downright disaffection, yet a widespread discontent among the people of India. His own experience tended in that direction, and indeed recent official documents admitted it. He believed that this spirit has sprung up among the Natives in recent years principally from two causes—over-legislation and over-taxation. Four

- Legislative Councils have been hard at work turning out a great quantity of laws. It might be that a transitional period, such as that through which India was now passing, required additional legislation; and although an ingenious plea had been advanced in defence of the course which has been pursued, yet there could scarcely be a doubt that the whole thing has been very much overdone, and that the people of India have been reduced to the condition of really not knowing upon what ground they stand. This is the all but universal opinion in India. As a lawyer himself, he might say that he had often found it very difficult to know what the law was, owing to the multiplication of Acts and the way in which they were drawn. For this evil, however, there is one simple panacea, and that is to give over legislation all but altogether; and he could not help thinking it would be an excellent thing if the legal member of Council should be directed to do as little as could be helped for the present, further than draw his salary. By letting things alone he would be the means of no little benefit both to the Government and to the Natives. What India wants is rest. The fact is that much of Indian legislative enactments has been hastily conceived and unwisely executed; the Native Marriage Bill, to which allusion had been made during the present discussion, was an instance, in his opinion, of the ill-considered legislation which was going on in India. That Act was called for by the Brahmo Somaj, who said, and probably truly enough, that they could not conscientiously perform their marriages according to Hindu ceremonial. The natural course of legislation would have been to make a law to meet that particular object, and to redress the grievance of that particular sect which felt it; but to make this the basis for an act of legislation for all Hindus all over India was both unwise and unnecessary. As another instance, he might mention recent legislation on the subject of law taxes, by which it was said that a fund could be raised for the purpose of insuring the improvement of the administration of justice by a better payment of the lower judicial officers. For this purpose the plaintiff had to pay a heavy *ad valorem* stamp on the amount of property in dispute. In a case in which

he was concerned, the plaintiff had to pay 16,000 rupees stamp, though the suit was for a mere declaratory decree, and not for any substantive relief. His client lost, and another 16,000 rupees was demanded before the appeal could be lodged. Thus 32,000 rupees were required as a preliminary to even opening the doors of justice! Fortunately for his client, however, the Legislature were just then passing a new Act, in which they reduced the fee stamp for a declaratory suit from an *ad valorem* stamp to a fixed charge of ten rupees—a reasonable sum enough to pay on a declaratory suit. So that, instead of his client being called upon for 16,000 rupees, ten rupees only sufficed. But if ten rupees were a sufficient charge, what greater condemnation could the Legislature pass on its own previous legislation? It could not be matter of surprise that there should be discontent at British rule while such legislation as this was at work. With regard to taxation, it was said, and truly said, that if we are to improve our administration in India, and to make progress in proportion to the wants of increasing civilization, money must be found; and found, it was urged, by taxation. The new system of local taxation has been productive of the greatest discontent all over the country. Taxation has become so various and so vexatious that an uneasy feeling of distrust has been engendered. If, however, it were true that progress must be stayed, and improvements suspended, unless this taxation is raised, he would not be prepared to say taxation might not be the lesser evil; but that he believed was not really the case. His own conviction was, that an honest, searching investigation into the revenues and expenditure of the country would show, that, without impairing the efficiency of the Government or diminishing the vested interests of individuals, vast savings might be effected, giving ample funds for all improvements, without adding a single rupee to the taxation, either local or imperial. These were the immediate practical remedies for the distrust and discontent which are spreading throughout India; and these provided, the British rule in India would be secured in the loyalty of the people.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY, in proposing a vote of thanks to Major Bell for the address he had delivered, said the services of Major Bell to India were already historical. He regretted that an officer possessed of such high and statesmanlike qualities should be here in England making desperate efforts to teach an unwilling people the elements of the art of government, instead of being engaged in work for which he was eminently suited—engaged among the Natives of India, himself inspiring that trust of which he had so eloquently spoken.

DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN (Acting Hon. Secretary of the Association), in seconding the motion, observed that all who took interest in the

affairs of India were aware of the continuous and noble exertions of Major Bell on behalf of the people of India; and his services in this respect were too well known to need any lengthened narration of them. Another reason why he (the speaker) would refrain from extending his remarks was that he knew the retiring and modest disposition of Major Bell would make him recoil from any compliments paid to him, even though, as on the present occasion, he was fully entitled to receive them. He cordially seconded the motion on his own behalf, and on behalf of the people of India.

Major EVANS BELL, in acknowledging the vote, observed that at that very late hour he would not make any lengthened remarks or detain the Association by reviewing the speeches which had been made. He would merely express his thanks for the very complimentary and kind manner in which his address had been considered. He was very sensible that he did not deserve the high praise Mr. Crawshay had been pleased to bestow upon his very humble exertions in the cause of Indian reform. Major Bell concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the learned Chairman.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER said he could cordially second the motion.

The CHAIRMAN briefly expressed his thanks, and a vote of thanks to the Society of Arts for the use of their theatre having been moved by SYED JAAFER HOSAIN, and seconded by DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN, the proceedings terminated.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1872.

M'CULLAGH TORRENS, Esq., M.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by F. W. CHESSON, Esq.

The Best Means of Educating English Opinion on Indian Affairs.

THERE was a very numerous attendance, among those present being: H.H. the Nawab Nazim of Bengal; Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, M.P.; Sir David Wedderburn, M.P.; Mr. Strachey, of the Colonial-office (brother of Sir John Strachey, K.C.S.I.); Mr. James Hole, Secretary of the Associated Chambers of Commerce; Dr. Long Marsh, Secretary of the Medical Club; Mrs. Akroyd and Rev. Thomas Hunter (Association in Aid of Social Progress in India); James Hutton, Esq.; M. Vencatasawmy Naidoo, of Madras; Dr. Bridges (Local Government Board); Sir Donald McLeod; Mr. S. S. Dickenson, M.P.; &c., &c.

It was stated that Sir Charles Wingfield and Mr. Eastwick were

prevented from attending by having charge of bills which were to come on for discussion in the House of Commons on the same evening.

Captain W. C. PALMER, Acting Hon. Sec. of the East India Association, stated that Professor Fawcett was to have taken the chair, but Mr. Chesson had received a letter which would explain that gentleman's absence. It was as follows: "My dear Chesson,—I regret exceedingly " to tell you that, being confined to my room by an attack of quinsy, it " is in the highest degree improbable I shall be able to redeem my " promise to take the chair at the meeting on Tuesday next. I am " very disappointed that I shall be unable to attend the meeting, " and I hope this note will reach you in time for you to procure a substitute for the chairmanship.—Yours very faithfully, HENRY FAWCETT." Captain Palmer added that he was sure they all very seriously regretted the cause of Mr. Fawcett's absence; but, on the other hand, they would be glad to hear that Mr. McCullagh Torrens, M.P., had consented to preside, and he would move that that gentleman take the chair.

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. TAYLER, and agreed to *nem. con.*

The CHAIRMAN said he very much regretted that his valued friend Mr. Fawcett was not able to be present at the meeting. Agreeing as they did substantially on all subjects which were likely to be brought forward on the present occasion, he (Mr. Torrens) would have much preferred to have been under Professor Fawcett's presidency. They had been now for many years endeavouring to draw the attention of the English people and the House of Commons to the condition of our Oriental Empire, and endeavouring, as far as in them lay, to direct the formation and encourage the spread of a more active sympathetic public opinion with reference to its interests and feelings. It was slow work—this acting upon a busy nation like the English, much occupied with its own affairs and distracted by the thousand considerations that efface the impressions which may be made from time to time in awakening a sense of what is required for justice to India. Mr. Chesson had, therefore, he thought, done well in asking them to meet on the present occasion to consider the important question of what are the best means of producing a healthy public opinion regarding India, and how they might individually and collectively contribute in the time to come to the steady growth and solidification, so to speak, of those convictions, which, ripening into representative forms, might eventually lead to better legislation and better administration for the English Empire in the East. It is sufficiently disheartening to find in Parliament so little readiness to give that attention to Oriental affairs which our business relations in the East, independent of morals and of policy, really require. Generally an empty House receives the annual statement of the Indian Minister; and if any

one ventures to criticise that statement, or to dispute its leading facts and inferences, he is not even met with opposition—for that would be enlivening and productive of increased zeal; but he is met with the cold stare of the clerks at the table, and the intruder may perhaps hear a small indistinct movement in the reporters' gallery, which tells him that his words are being taken down. But as to reply or discussion, he must be a miracle who can evoke it. He remembered being present, many years ago, as a spectator, when Lord Macaulay made his great Indian speech in the House of Commons, shortly before he went out as Minister of Finance. There were about six and a-half people in the House; there were certainly not seven; and the orator might as well have been talking to the tombs for any impression his rhetoric could make upon the auditory. But for the fact that everything that Macaulay said was dispersed to the ends of the earth by means of the *Times* newspaper, they might never have been informed what that statesman's sentiments were; and a great waymark upon the growth and formation of English opinion would have been utterly lost. A good deal, however, may be done to change this state of things. He had himself taken part in two or three forlorn hopes as regards the non-domestic policy and discouraging as they were, they had yet resulted in practical success. He had no doubt that where the interests were so great, where the motives for exertion were so strong, and where the reward to those who laboured in the task was so solid and so permanent, and so productive of unalloyed satisfaction,—they ought not to be weary in well-doing, but ought to continue to pelt the House of Commons with petitions and external influences such as were brought to bear by the present meeting. By such means they might hope that at length they would evoke a public opinion which will induce the Legislature to take more sympathetic interest in the matter. However widely they might differ upon certain points, they were, he thought, agreed that the Natives of the Indian Empire, as fellow-subjects, were entitled to the same rights as they themselves enjoyed. The change made in 1858 was the most momentous one in the history of our relations with India, because Parliament then undertook to legislate for India in the same manner as for the Colonies; and therefore they were bound, as the constituents of Parliament, to see that Parliament did its duty in that particular. If these were the opinions of the meeting, he was sure they would be prepared to listen with attention to the suggestions which would be made by Mr. Chesson for their consideration; and when Mr. Chesson had made his statements, he hoped there would be no diffidence in giving or in asking explanations on points which might be raised. There were present in the hall many who were in the highest degree competent to discuss the matter, and he

hoped it would be done in a frank and generous spirit, and a desire to enter into the debate with the end of being useful in the solution of the questions which Mr. Chesson would raise. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. F. W. CHESSON then delivered the following lecture :—

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen,—Those who remember the great debates which preceded the abolition of the East India Company, fourteen years ago, will not need to be reminded of the disagreeable fact that our sense of responsibility towards India requires a crisis to quicken it into activity. Of course, when the integrity of the empire is at stake, it is only natural that the trumpet notes of alarm should be sounded, and that every citizen should hasten to the rescue ; but, at the same time, it would be infinitely wiser and more patriotic if we did our duty to India without waiting for the lightning or the earthquake to rouse us from our slumbers. No doubt certain great officials are responsible for the just government of India ; but, nevertheless, the British people cannot delegate their peculiar responsibility to others. Their duty does not end with the employment of men who are supposed to be the best qualified to undertake the functions of government ; they are bound to make themselves acquainted with the policy which is pursued in India, and to subject it to all reasonable modifications. To say nothing of the supreme obligation which devolves upon us to secure justice to the diverse and unrepresented populations of our Eastern empire, it is the nation whose interests are served or injured, whose reputation is enhanced or compromised, by the acts of its administrators ; and no representative of the people, no elector even who registers his vote at the poll, can divest himself of the responsibility of which I speak. It is, no doubt, a great anomaly that, in addition to all our multitudinous public affairs—political, ecclesiastical, and municipal—we should be compelled to bear a burthen so unsatisfactory and, at times, so intolerable ; but, on the other hand, we must remember that the performance of these vast duties is the price we pay for empire ; that the neglect of them has already involved us, and may involve us again, in the greatest of calamities ; and that just as in private life a man who, under difficulties, pays every debt and meets every engagement, is far more than compensated by the approval of his conscience and the respect of his fellow-men, so, if a great nation discharges all its obligations to those who have claims either upon its justice or its bounty, it cannot fail to meet with a corresponding reward.

Doubtless many persons will agree in thinking that this is a very extreme view of our individual responsibility as Englishmen, and that practically it would be impossible to induce more than a small minority to act upon it. On a similar principle it may be said that Christianity raises a

standard of morality to which, having regard to the weakness and imperfection of human nature, it is impossible for us to render perfect obedience; but surely the knowledge of this fact renders it more, instead of less, desirable that we should keep steadily before us the Christian ideal, and endeavour, so far as may be, to fulfil its requirements. More we cannot be expected to do; but assuredly no one will pretend that, to this extent, we do our duty to India. Take, for example, the case of a general election: amid the thousand hoarse cries which distract the brain at the hustings and the polling booth, is there one that expresses any feeling of interest in the affairs of the hundred and fifty millions of our fellow-subjects in India? Multitudes of pledges are wrung from candidates, but hardly ever one that they will assist to shape our Indian policy in accordance with common sense and common justice. I can imagine the look of surprise with which a candidate would listen to questions of this nature if, by any strange chance, they were addressed to him; and I can also imagine the vague platitudes with which, in his replies, he would endeavour to veil both his ignorance and his indifference. If you could get at his heart, you would find there the secret thought—a thought which many Englishmen do not hesitate openly to express—that India is too distant for its affairs to be studied or comprehended by him; and that therefore he is content to leave the subject in the hands of those who possess better opportunities of acquiring information. Not only does this view pass current in political society, but it actually meets with defenders in the press; for, not long ago, a controversialist laid down the proposition that no one could possibly understand Indian questions who had not enjoyed the advantage of a personal residence in India. Without depreciating the value of local knowledge, I will venture to affirm that a statement more subversive of a just sense of the public responsibility to India was never made in any quarter. It is eminently calculated to encourage that very evil of ignorance which it ought to be the object of every educated Englishman to remove; and, moreover—not to go back to the days of Burke and Fox, or to those of John Mill—it is refuted by the speeches of Mr. Bright and Mr. Fawcett, whose lightest utterances on such a subject, although they have never been to India, would outweigh the oracular dogmatism of any number of their detractors.

I believe that the English people are anxious that India should not only be wisely governed, but that the government of the country should be based upon the moral opinion of all classes of the population; but they suffer from lack of knowledge, and India is also the victim of that ignorance. Oliver Goldsmith, in the wisest of all his works, remarks of the English people that “they first act, and when too late begin to examine.” Until this process is reversed, we can never hope

to govern distant races with credit to ourselves or satisfaction to them. Of course the optimists will allege that our empire in the East is so well governed that public opinion, however educated, will not sensibly affect the policy upon which successive Viceroy's have embarked since the fiery interregnum of the mutiny. This view will not bear a moment's investigation; for even if India were well governed, she would unquestionably be better governed if the people of England only possessed a sufficient amount of knowledge to give effect to their benevolent intentions. Take, for instance, the case of those Native Princes who have, or believe they have, just grievances against the Imperial Government.

A lamented friend of mine, one of the ablest of Indian journalists — I refer to the late Henry Mead — once said: "The 'title which adorns the beggar and the phrases of respect that greet the slave are all that remain to the descendants of the masters of the 'East.'" These words were literally true at the time at which he wrote them; for a long series of confiscations and annexations had culminated in the horrors of mutiny and civil war. Mr. Mead's language is not now true in the sense in which he used it, because the name of the Queen and the faith of the empire have since been pledged to maintain the rights of the Native Princes. But we know that the only debate on Indian affairs which has taken place during the present session had reference to the deposition of one of these Princes, and if the Order-book of the House of Commons may be relied upon, another debate, involving the conduct of the Government towards one of its feudatories, is impending. Now, without entering into the merits of these cases or expressing any opinion upon them, I will venture to assert that if the nation was properly instructed in Indian affairs, we should not be humiliated, and our *amour propre* as citizens of a free country would no longer be wounded by the spectacle of these dusky strangers knocking at the door of Parliament for redress. Whether acts of injustice had been committed, or whether the Indian Government had been unjustly assailed, an enlightened public opinion would demand that the right or wrong of each case should be determined by due process of law; and the substitution of law, openly and publicly administered, for the secret exercise of practically irresponsible functions by a nominated council, would be a guarantee of justice, such as can never be secured under the present system.

Or, to take another illustration, if the public mind were sufficiently enlightened upon these questions, no such complaints as have been made by Indian students who desire to compete for the Civil Service examinations, would have been possible. The Viceroy would promptly have exercised the power he possesses of throwing open to competition a certain number of appointments in India; and the medical students who

came to England, and pursued their studies here, on the faith that there would be vacancies to fill up, would not have been doomed to something worse than disappointment—a disappointment with which is mingled the suspicion that things were intended to turn out badly, that there exists a sort of official Calvinism which predestines the Orientals to a fate not reserved for the elect. I assert, without fear of contradiction, that if, after the people of this country had been made acquainted with the facts of this case, they had erred at all, it would have been on the side of generosity. They would have been prompt to recognize the claim of the Natives to the utmost consideration at our hands, and would have desired, although this would have been unnecessary, that the law itself should be strained in order to enable them to gratify an honourable ambition, and, at the same time, to bind them to the government of the Queen. Dr. Johnson said to an ill-natured friend: “You never open your mouth but with the intention to give pain; and you have often given me pain, not from the power of what you said, but from seeing your intention.” With regard to the circumstances to which I have referred, I am afraid that both the power and the intention to give pain were combined; and in this connection, one is naturally reminded of the speech delivered by Mr. Bright many years ago, in which, alluding to the case of the first Native gentleman who ever sought admission to the Indian Civil Service, he significantly pointed out that after this candidate had been two years and a half in England, a new regulation as to age was formulated, with the inevitable result of his exclusion from the competition.

I may bring these preliminary observations to a close with the reflection that if the English people possessed a practical knowledge of Indian politics, they would set their faces against the fiscal policy at present pursued in India. At all events, if they were acquainted with the frightful injustice which has accrued from the income-tax—if they knew that it had pressed with cruel severity upon the most abject classes of the population—if they could master the revelations contained in the pamphlet lately published by Mr. James Wilson, the Editor of the *Indian Daily News*, I am sure the people of India would not have to wait long for redress. Mr. Wilson says: “Let the reader visit the magistrate’s catcherry at Serampore, twelve miles from Calcutta, and he will find the magistrate sitting at work that pains and disgusts him; helplessly fining poor wretches in double the assessment, because the law gives him no alternative. Day by day, these men attend by the score; and even strong men may be found, some cursing at the extortion and iniquity, others shedding tears of mortification at being dragged to court as they reach it, or leaving it with tears of despair at being condemned to pay fines exceeding in amount the value of their earthly pos-

"sessions." I am sure that we are not so much in love with our own income-tax, or the mode of assessing it, as to be indifferent to the sufferings of a population who have no executive which they can control, and no Parliament to which they can appeal. What we lack here is that timely diffusion of accurate information without which it seems impossible to get justice done.

How to create a public opinion which will be calculated to accomplish the salutary object to which I have referred, well deserves to engage our attention. What is needed is not a spasmodic or intermittent interest, but to make those questions which are important to the welfare of India an active element in our own political life. This object can never be effectually attained until our press sedulously applies itself to the duty of imparting instruction on Indian affairs. I believe that the chief difficulty with which we have to contend is the supposition that the great majority of newspaper readers care less about India than they do about the sources of the Nile, or the exploration of Equatorial Africa. I do not, for one moment, wish unduly to disparage that sensational style of writing which enables the morbid Briton to drink in to the full the ghastly horrors of such a tragedy as the Park-lane murder without at all losing his appetite for breakfast; but it seems to me that the concerns of one hundred and fifty millions of people appeal far more legitimately to the dramatic instincts of our public writers than the vitiated tastes of the patrons of the Jack Sheppard order of literature; and that, if these subjects were skilfully and intelligently handled, thousands of readers—whether they know anything about India or not—would feel grateful for the instruction.

It is a remarkable fact that although for two sessions a special Committee of the House of Commons has been occupied with the most important inquiry in relation to India which has taken place in our time, no reports of its proceedings have been published in the leading journals, and that, until lately, the work of the Committee has attracted but little editorial notice. It would be difficult to exaggerate the injury done to India by this species of indifference or neglect; but, on the other hand, it would be absurd to attribute an excessive degree of blame to the conductors of our public journals. Each one of them has as many things to engage his thoughts as the Prime Minister, and, perhaps, the members of the Cabinet to boot; and therefore it is not surprising that the temptation to pass over subjects which are not actually forced upon their attention by debates in Parliament or public meetings should prove irresistible. To follow, instead of to lead, public opinion has become a sort of journalistic maxim; and it accordingly follows that we must look to external pressure for the

means of gently forcing an entrance into the editorial sanctuary. Yet something ought at once to be done. For my own part, I have generally found that when proper steps are taken to make our public writers acquainted with a particular question, they exhibit a laudable anxiety to assist in its elucidation; and I venture to suggest that if special efforts were made to induce the leading literary men of London to attend the meetings, and to take an interest in the affairs of this and kindred associations, the experiment would be a fruitful one. Indeed, I do not know of any experiment more likely to prove beneficial, both to this country and to its Eastern dependencies, than an attempt to associate the republic of letters in this great metropolis with a public body which, in a broad and catholic spirit, seeks only the good of India.

One must feel that enough is not done to promote the frank discussion of these subjects in other and more distant quarters. In that *imperium in imperio*, the cotton kingdom of Lancashire, we find a keen interest taken in any subject which directly concerns the interests of that busiest of all the busy hives of English industry; but if the magnates of Cottonopolis and its dependencies sufficiently apprehended the intimate relation which must ever subsist between their commercial prosperity and the good government of India, instead of occasional memorials from Chambers of Commerce, and now and then an article in the Manchester and Liverpool papers, there would spring up in the seat of the cotton industry a swarm of branch East India Associations, vying with one another in their efforts to disseminate information on every important Indian question. The discussions which take place in this hall ought to be reproduced in Manchester and Liverpool, or rather those great provincial centres of political activity should organize for themselves the requisite educational machinery.

I commend this idea to the Council of the East India Association in the belief that, if proper steps are taken, many local politicians will be willing to assist in the establishment of branch societies in the midst of those splendid industries which have profited so largely by the trade with our Indian empire. It only needs some half-dozen men of energy and executive capacity to take up this matter in order to insure a large amount of success. If such associations were formed, we might expect to see the Indian question play a prominent part at every election in the manufacturing districts. Some good would also be done if the interest thus excited reached those societies for mutual improvement which often waste their time in unprofitable discussions about the character of Mary Queen of Scots, or the lawfulness of regicide; and we might even hope in time to make our school-books give a little more information about India than a dull chronology of events, mixed with a good deal of that

fulsome laudation of ourselves which is apt to fill a school-boy's brain with conceit, and to perpetuate in the grown man the arrogance of a vain-glorious youth.

There is another point upon which, I think, there will be a general consensus of opinion. I refer to the desirability of establishing better means of social intercourse between the educated classes of Englishmen and the Orientals resident in London. Every one must be impressed with the fact that, while the number of natives of the East who are seeking the advantages of a special education in London is increasing every year, next to nothing has been done to make their sojourn amongst us socially profitable to the two races. There is much they can learn from us, or they would hardly cross the ocean, often at a greater personal sacrifice than we can realize, to pursue their studies at the chief seats of English learning. In doing this they show that they appreciate the blessings of western civilization, and justify the hope that when they return to their own country they will impart to others the knowledge they have gained, and by the influence of personal example, do the work of missionaries, without unnecessarily exciting the prejudices of caste or race. It is a hopeful sign that the old order of things is being reversed, and that the East is now moving towards the West. The more desirable is it that the East should know all that is most worth knowing in the West. If it be true, as it undoubtedly is, that the liberties of England are based upon her municipal institutions, it is equally true that the virtues of the English character attain their ripest perfection in our domestic life; and therefore, if we admit the Oriental stranger to the privileges of social intercourse, we not only practise towards him the rites of hospitality, but enable him to experience the best side of Western civilization. So far as the official world is concerned, nothing is done to meet this want; or, if I am mistaken, the secret is so well kept that it has never yet leaked out. But, in such a matter, one cares little for the stereotyped forms of official hospitality; what is really called for is a spontaneous manifestation of that feeling of good fellowship which, in spite of external coldness and reserve, unquestionably exists in the English character, and which, at Lord Mayors' feasts, is symbolized by the loving cup.

The idea, as I am anxious to see it expressed, has been already acted upon by a number of ladies and gentlemen, brought together by Mrs. Vaughan, the wife of the Master of the Temple, Professor Sheldon Amos, and Dr. Lory Marsh. At the first reunion of what is known as the Anglo-Oriental Society, Mr. Amos and Sir Roundell Palmer accurately indicated the only basis upon which such a project can be usefully or successfully realized. Its promoters must have no other object in view than a free interchange of ideas between the English and the Oriental

members of the society. The influence thus exerted cannot fail to be mutually beneficial. It will be our province to teach, although in no dogmatic or obtrusive spirit, but there will also be much for us to learn; for how little do we know concerning the social and political condition, the philosophy, the intellectual thought, the poetry of the East! It is only reasonable to suppose that by personal intercourse of this description we may arrive at a clearer perception of our duties to our Indian fellow-subjects, and, at the same time, set an example to those who are yet warped by the ignoble prejudices of race. The influence of a social experiment of this kind may be made to extend far beyond the limited circle to which the experiment itself is necessarily confined.

There is one thing I am anxious to see done in such a social movement as is projected, and that is, to draw into it men and women who are now practically indifferent with regard to India. Experience leads me to the conclusion that when persons of this sort are gradually induced to take an interest in a subject with which they were previously unacquainted, they often become as active workers as those who have been long in the field. To awaken broader sympathies and interests in the minds of people who, from no fault of their own, have moved in a narrow sphere, is to assist in rubbing off those insular prejudices which yet cling to our national character. The influence of these social forces, although comparatively silent and unseen, would soon put to shame those lamentable antipathies of race which, even now in our distant dependencies, sometimes break out into acts of weakness and cruelty.

But social equality is of little value unless accompanied by political justice; and so long as India remains a possession of the British Crown, it will always be necessary for us to exercise a watchful vigilance over the acts of our representatives. If England were afflicted with a bad ruler, no worse consequence would ensue than a change of government; the incompetent statesman would at once retire into the cold shade of opposition. But in India a single ruler who was unfit to govern might transform a contented province into a hot-bed of disaffection; or the Executive might commit a series of acts which, by compromising the public faith, or imposing intolerable burthens of taxation, or inflicting upon misguided insurgents indefensibly barbarous punishments, could not fail to create a state of feeling dangerous to the supremacy of the Crown. The education of the people on these subjects would, I believe, be materially assisted if the meetings of the India Council were opened to the public. The Eleusinian rites were hardly more secret than are the proceedings of the India Council. If it be desirable that the debates of the Common Council of the City of London, or of the Metropolitan Board of Works

should take place with open doors, it is surely a great anomaly that discussions involving the welfare of a great empire should be treated like the mysteries of an Attic temple. The one merit of the East India Company was that, at the meetings of the Court of Proprietors, it was open to the humblest member to put any question, or to bring forward any motion he pleased. The public assemblies of the East India Company have been got rid of without the good end they served being accomplished by any other instrumentality. If the India Council sat with open doors, the press would report its proceedings; and thus, while a sense of individual responsibility would be stimulated in the minds of the Councillors, the light which they might be able to shed on Indian politics would no longer be hidden under a bushel. Horace Walpole once said: "Our Ministers enjoy the consciousness of their wisdom as the good do of their virtue, and take no pains to make it shine before men." This, it appears to me, is the position now occupied by the members of the India Council.

Without entering into topics foreign to the present discussion, I believe that the establishment of a Parliamentary Court of Appeal, such as Mr. Torrens has proposed, would accomplish a great educational work, and at the same time impart to the Native Princes a feeling of security which it is hard to believe they now entertain. The proposed establishment of a system of representation in India is a question which hardly comes within the scope of my remarks; but, as I was prevented from attending the adjourned discussion on Mr. Prichard's able paper, I would venture to express the opinion that a generation which has witnessed the extension of the franchise to the Red Indians of Canada, and the admission of Maori chiefs into the General Assembly of New Zealand, cannot possibly look with an unsympathetic eye on the gradual application of a similar principle to the circumstances of a people who, instead of going about in paint and feathers, or being only one generation removed from cannibalism, are inheritors of one of the most ancient civilizations of the world.

Although the representation of India in the Imperial Parliament is a proposal which bears closely upon my subject, yet it is unnecessary for me to traverse a field which has been already explored by two of the most statesmanlike of Indian Reformers, Mr. Eastwick and Mr. Prichard; nevertheless, I must express my own belief that the admission into Parliament of a few Natives of India—even if, like Delegates in the American Congress, they sat there without voting—would perhaps do more to educate the nation on Indian affairs than any other means that could be devised. If it be objected that the proposal is a singularly exceptional one, the answer is that our rule in India is equally exceptional, and that, after all, the chief thing we have to consider is what plan

is best calculated to strengthen the empire and to remove all just cause of discontent. A distinguished friend of mine proposes as a compromise that a certain number of the Princes of India should be entitled to sit in the House of Lords as hereditary peers. This suggestion thoroughly harmonizes with the spirit of the constitution ; and if it were carried out, we should hear much less than we do now of a want of sympathy between England and India ; we should have given the greatest proof of our having broken down our own Brahminical wall of caste.

I must confess, however, that my hopes mainly centre in the formation of an Indian party in the House of Commons. A thoughtful Native of India, in refuting the untenable arguments by which the Duke of Argyll and Sir Charles Jackson endeavoured to explain away the Hindu law of adoption, remarked that "the distance between the British people and the Natives of India is still unfortunately very great. The interest shown in our affairs by the British Parliament is often wayward and spasmodic. At one time, we have measures enacted for us that would do honour to any age or country ; at another we are subjected to treatment incompatible with the rights of free men. These sudden changes indicate that the views and feelings of the natives of India are not properly made known to British statesmen in England, and hence fail to be appreciated. The natural consequence is a dangerously fitful government of this vast dependency by men who have not sufficient data to go upon, and whose success or otherwise must therefore be the result of chance."

Without endeavouring to gauge the exact amount of truth which these words embody, it is enough to know that they express the sentiments of large numbers of the educated Natives of India, and that therefore the sooner we apply a remedy the better. A practical and intelligent discussion of the affairs of India could unquestionably be secured in the House of Commons, if a dozen members of that House were to combine together for the purpose of insisting upon the thorough ventilation of these subjects. In the speech which my hon. friend the member for Brighton delivered to his constituents on the eve of the present session, we saw an example of what one patriotic and single-minded member of Parliament may do in the way of compelling attention to our Indian empire. Mr. Fawcett's strictures fastened the eyes of his own and of other constituencies on some of the gravest aspects of our policy in that country ; and when his speech reached India, it excited a lively interest in the centres of Native opinion. The comments of the Native press testified to the watch-dog kind of vigilance with which Indian politicians regard the fluctuations of English sentiment.

But, then, we are told that Parliament has no time to give to India ;

and yet Parliament appears to have plenty of time for all sorts of absurd, irrelevant, and crotchety discussions. Nevertheless, the excuse serves its purpose; and the consequence is that the Indian Budget is brought forward in the middle of the dog-days, when an air of languor has settled upon the half-empty benches of the House of Commons, and when our weary legislators are content to leave Mr. Grant Duff to talk to the reporters' gallery. To say that at such a time the Legislative Chamber is dulness itself, is to convey a very imperfect idea of the lethargy, the monotony, the total absence of life and animation by which a budget debate is characterized.

I am confident that the constituencies may be educated on this matter, and that Parliament may be aroused from its present state of apathy by the formation of a party pledged to bring forward for prompt discussion any subject of importance to the political or social well-being of the unrepresented people of India. I well remember the great service which the India Reform Society rendered many years ago, by its successful efforts to organize such a party in the House of Commons. Mr. John Dickinson was the founder and mainspring of that party, and Mr. Bright was its leader—a leader who combined the eloquence of a great parliamentary orator with the prescience of a true statesman. Since the abolition of the East India Company, that useful body has virtually been dissolved; but its revival is now imperatively called for as a means both of educating the nation and of compelling Parliament to perform duties which it has hitherto lamentably neglected.

In conclusion, it appears to me to be a waste of time to engage in hypothetical or remote speculations as to our mission in the East. Some may be disposed to apply to our rule in India Dr. Parr's opinion with regard to original sin: "It would have been very good for all of us if it had never been." Be this as it may, we have inherited that rule; it forms part of our national life; and we dare not, even if we could, break the continuity of that marvellous historic chain. But it is our duty to rule India with a single eye to the good of the people, and to qualify them, by successive steps, for the enjoyment of all the rights of British subjects. I know that this estimate of our national duty is not shared by those in whom the pride of race is untempered by that modesty which is the shining ornament of true greatness; but I have so much faith in the conscience of the nation, in our reverence for Christian precept and law, in our Providential mission in the world, that I believe India is destined to receive at our hands every blessing which we ourselves enjoy.

Professor SHELDON AMOS having been called upon by the Chairman, observed that he could have wished some one else more able to discuss

the whole subject introduced by Mr. Chesson, had first addressed the meeting; for what he had to say would be in explanation of the principles of the Anglo-Oriental Club, to which reference had been made by Mr. Chesson. The purpose of the Club had been sufficiently indicated by the Lecturer, but he might say that it was not intended to confine its operations to the Natives of India. On the contrary, it contemplated the organization and representation of all the Oriental races now in London, including the many Japanese who are studying English institutions. All these different races it was desired to bring into social intercourse and friendly communion with the various classes of English society. This, it was thought, would serve a very useful purpose, and to effect it endeavours had been made to make their meetings—and there had been two—as many-sided as possible, and, as far as practicable, representative of all kinds of English social, political, and even religious opinions. They had, he thought, thus gathered together as characteristic a quintessence of the best English society as could be got together. Everybody was aware that the great difficulty in such meetings was that coldness and frigidity which comes of want of acquaintance with each other, and therefore, it had been made a very successful rule at the meetings of the Anglo-Oriental Club to take it for granted that everybody knew everybody else. If they could get this sort of thing—the free and open intercourse of all sections of English opinion with the Natives of the East—he could conceive of nothing which would better insure the good feeling of Orientals to England, or which would more effectually acquaint them with English manners and modes of thought; nor, on the other hand, could there be anything more likely to stimulate members of English society to make themselves conversant with Indian interests and necessities. This might be a very small part of the work to be done, but its importance was not small, seeing that it is eminently desirable that Indians should acquaint themselves with the domestic and social institutions of England, and hardly less desirable that the English should learn something of Indian social habits and customs. Indeed, he thought it must be admitted that a great deal of the injurious policy of the Indian Government originated in the ignorance of the real ways of thought and prejudices extant among the Natives of India; and it was, without doubt, the cause of much of the antipathy which was felt and expressed by many Anglo-Indians in respect to the Natives of the country. A large number of people in England needed only to get rid of that intolerance which was caused by ignorance, in order to estimate the Native races properly; and that feeling got rid of, one of the main obstacles to the satisfactory government of India would be removed.

Sir JAMES ANDERSON said he had listened with very deep interest to

Mr. Chesson's address, for, like everything that gentleman had to say, it was the expression of the opinions of a well-informed mind. He had listened with attention also, because he was anxious to know what practical suggestions Mr. Chesson had to make for the improvement of the social relations of England with India. He had himself been a good deal in India, and he confessed it had always been a marvel to him to comprehend how England, with so small a military force, could govern so vast a country; and he had always hoped and believed that England did not govern India from any sense of superior might, but based her rule on higher principles of benefit to the Native races. He was encouraged to this belief when he saw the Government make—as he thought all must admit—well-meant endeavours to do justly by the people. The seeming aggression and annexation system was, he trusted, due less to a lust of power than to the circumstances of position, though he feared that the sense of jealousy of other ruling powers had drawn the British Government into many acts of unwise oppression, and the adoption of a policy of annexation which had been abandoned since about the year 1840. Among the remedies for some of the grievances of which the Natives of India complain, Mr. Chesson had urged the throwing open of the Indian Council to the public press; and he entirely agreed that this would be a great boon. The closed doors of that Council, the fact that the deliberations were carried on by men of whom the general public know nothing, is an evil which should have immediate remedy. His own experiences of the officials of the Council were not favourable, and there was too much truth in the complaint that complainants were hampered and delayed, and that the officials acted as though they were ignorant that human life is comparatively a limited quantity. He hoped, therefore, soon to see a change in this matter, and agreed entirely with Mr. Chesson's views on the point. For himself, he failed to see that the suggestions of Professor Amos would go very far towards bringing about a happier relation between the Natives of India and England; and he was inclined to believe in the maxim that a nation or people would in the long run have very much the sort of Government they are aspiring to and are fitted for. That might seem a strong thing to say; but, judging from England herself, he would point out that the people, when they wanted a wrong remedied, took means to ventilate it, and, after working for it, they are generally successful in their agitation. Not much was to be expected by two or three Natives being permitted to sit in the House of Commons without a vote; although he quite agreed that were there some Natives allowed to sit in both the Upper and Lower Houses of Parliament, it would be but an instalment of justice to India. But the more efficacious way would be for the people

of India to follow the example of the people of England, and seek to secure for themselves whatever they desired, even to taking a large share in the government of their own country. They could effect this by agitation and public discussion far better than by any other method. It would not be done by the English Parliament of themselves, for that is a body eminently spasmodic in its interest in the affairs of India. And this fact suggested the reflection which his own observations in various parts of the world only tended to strongly confirm—that the people of one country never do understand thoroughly the people of another country. Nationality consists in egotism. He had been among nations who wore no apparel beyond what Nature gave them, and he was quite sure they entertained a patronizing and pitying notion of the uncivilized people who swathed themselves in clothes. He once saw a Persian army which appeared to him to be unutterably dirty and shabby, as they were drilling on a sandy waste where the leanest of cattle were endeavouring to feed on invisible grass; but the officer in command called upon him to admire that army, and being discreet, he did so. Egotism of this kind was very largely developed in the English, and still more largely was it to be seen in the Americans, who were only exaggerated Englishmen. To hope, therefore, that one nation can ever rule another nation to the perfect satisfaction of both, was unreasonable. Hence his own opinion was that to rule India for any length of time, and be loved by the Natives for the exercise of a strong rule, was out of the question. They must go on progressing as well as they could, and in this connection the work of the Indian Government in respect to the education of the people was most important, as calculated to show the Natives that we believe they must have equal rights as fellow-subjects whenever they choose to claim them. But the right to govern themselves, though it may, and probably must, come in time, would never be the reward of victory on the part of the Natives by force of arms. England could never afford to lose India by force of arms, and not an Englishman but would fight to his last drop of blood for the honour of his nation in this respect. But all that the Natives desired might be secured by the means he had indicated, and by seeking to understand the English people, whose weakness was never to refuse a claim which had the appearance of justice. He had known many clever and intelligent Indian gentlemen, and he had often marvelled why they chose to sit down comfortably and lazily without seeking for themselves to secure the redress which they desired. Whether this apathy was due to the indolent tendency of the climate, he would not venture to say; he merely observed the fact. In conclusion, he would repeat his conviction that, while the many suggestions which had been made were valuable as aids,

yet, if the Natives of India desired a remedy for their grievances, they must find it for themselves ; and by agitation, he was assured, they would be not less successful than the people of other portions of the British Empire in getting what they desired.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER (late Commissioner of Patna) said there was always some embarrassment in speaking on these occasions—first, because they, while speaking, were reminded unpleasantly that they were “going on tick,” and that the inexorable hand of the clock passed swiftly over the ten minutes allowed to each speaker. He might also venture to allude to one other source of embarrassment ; and that is, that the speakers on these occasions are rather apt to depart from the real subject before them. And thus it happened that, while listening with very great interest to the speech of the gentleman who had just sat down (Professor Amos), he had for the first time heard an account of a new Association which had lately been formed in the interests of Orientals. But what possible relation all this had with the subject introduced by Mr. Chesson, he confessed he was at a loss to conceive. He was glad to hear that such a Club had been formed, but whether it would be successful in achieving the great end of educating the English people in the affairs of India, appeared to him rather doubtful. Precisely such a Club was established under the most favourable auspices in Calcutta, and yet it ended in complete failure ; the cause being summed up by a witty writer in the fact that it was “quite impossible that a social Club should “exist where one nation griled what another nation worshipped”—referring, of course, to beef. Without speculating whether such an objection would militate against the successful formation of the new Club, he offered it as a fact, which showed there were very considerable obstacles to the formation of social associations of the kind. That subject, however, was a collateral one on the present occasion. As far as he understood Mr. Chesson’s address, the question for consideration was, how to educate English opinion in regard to India. Now, education was one of the most difficult problems of the day—that is, the education of children—and the rational idea seems now to be, that by nothing short of absolute compulsion could English boys and girls be educated. The question had been admitted as one of extreme difficulty ; but the question raised on the present occasion was one of far greater difficulty—it is how to educate full-grown and well-fed members of Parliament and members of English society generally. Could they have compulsory education for such refractory subjects ? If so, where are the schools, the teachers, the masters, who will instruct English gentlemen and dispel their ignorance ? Who will teach these “gentlemen whose education has been neglected” to be less solicitous of the interests of the

parish pump, and more regardful of the well-being and good government of 200 millions of people? Mr. Chesson had made many important and valuable suggestions; but for himself, he confessed to be in that position described in the old proverb, *Caveat hominem unius libri*—a man of one book—of one idea; and that one idea which possessed him was publicity in the Indian Council. He felt confident, the more he thought of that dreamy and disgraceful state of *insouciance* which is now apparent, and confessed, on the part of members of Parliament, that the secret of mischief lies in the impervious darkness which shrouds the initiatory, or rather the final, consultations at the India Office itself. He very readily admitted that he could not understand how gentlemen who were interested in the various important matters which occupy their immediate attention could possibly be expected to feel interested in the welfare and condition of the magnificent empire in the East until they know something about it. Where, then, are they to learn? At present, even the meanings of those unpronounceable names which turn up in connection with India are utterly unknown to them; and probably the names of some of the Native gentlemen present would startle and discourage many. Under present conditions, men could hardly fail to feel their minds obfuscated. At a previous meeting of the Association he had referred to the erroneous statements which were made by the Under-Secretary in the House of Commons. A law case was referred to and misrepresented, and although some were present who had strong interest in the point which it involved, they all seemed to have a reverent horror of pronouncing the name *Iree-Kishen Mookerjee*! And yet that man's name was necessary to expose the mis-statements which had been made. Now, the impunity with which such mis-statements were made is a symbol of the indifference to Indian affairs—indifference arising from ignorance. The question for consideration is, how can this apathy be obviated? To his mind, it was to be found in the one reform touched upon by Mr. Chesson and Sir James Anderson; and that is, publicity in the affairs of the Indian Council. He really thought that the East India Association, valuable as he believed its services had been, failed to effect so much good as it might, because it too often entered into the wild region of speculation, and did not confine itself to those matters of reform which are really practical. The discussion of very wide, very comprehensive, or very imaginative schemes was not half so effectual as the practical consideration of some reform near at hand. The school of education in Indian affairs—the Indian Council—sits with closed doors, where the Secretary of State is head-master, and the tutors are afraid to speak, or, if they do speak, their voice is seldom heard, and, when heard, is of no effect. While the deliberations of the Council are con-

ducted in such a manner, there are no conceivable means of imparting instruction to English legislators. All efforts should, therefore, be concentrated on the endeavour to procure the throwing open of the doors of the Council; and the result could not fail to be beneficial, not less to England than to India. While the Indian Secretary of State sits as an autocrat, in a darkened chamber, and, without responsibility to public opinion, rules the interests of 200 millions of our fellow-subjects, and is surrounded by satellites who in times of their chief's danger present their shield before him, to save him from just rebuke—while this state of things remains, it is the duty of the East India Association, and all who are interested in the welfare of India, to urge this reform. So long as the questions affecting India are thus dismissed, settled, and adjudicated in a secret conclave, not unfitly compared with the Eleusinian mysteries, so long can there be no real weight in public opinion respecting India, or any intelligent appreciation of the great questions which affect that nation. It is, therefore, to that particular question that the East India Association should give their special consideration, and, however important the efforts made on behalf of the social progress of the Natives, and in furtherance of the introduction of Native gentlemen to English society, they must yield in importance to the policy he had indicated, the neglect of which at present was producing a state of affairs which they all so much deplored. Publicity—publicity in all the affairs affecting India, before they reach that particular stage which gives opportunity to officialism to rise and say that it is inexpedient or impossible to retrace the steps taken by Government—that was the one great question lying before them; and if they wished to effect any practical benefit to India, it was to this that they must direct their earnest attention.

Major EVANS BELL said he quite agreed with Mr. William Tayler that means should be taken to bring about, as soon as possible, publicity in the deliberations of the Indian Council. This was undoubtedly a point of the highest importance. Nevertheless he thought Mr. Tayler had hardly done justice to the remarks of Professor Sheldon Amos, which tended very much to advance the object contemplated in Mr. Chesson's paper, that of cultivating a healthy English public opinion on the affairs and interests of India. Both Mr. Chesson and Professor Amos had agreed that the greatest difficulty of all was that the English people do not understand the sentiments and requirements of the Indian people, nor do the Indians understand the English. And there could not be a better or more easily attainable means of promoting mutual harmony and forming a healthy public opinion in England than by bringing the two races together in friendly communion and frequent

social intercourse. Mr. Tayler's argument against the formation of the proposed Anglo-Oriental Club—that because such a Club had, at some previous period, failed in Calcutta, it must therefore fail now in London—would not hold water. Hardly any great movement had been successful from the beginning of its career, though many had succeeded at last. Such a Club could not have started in a more unfavourable atmosphere than that of Calcutta. An Englishman in India was to a great extent in exile. The English society to which he had access was very limited, while in his working hours he was of necessity associated and brought in contact with by no means the most agreeable or estimable classes of the Native population. As a natural consequence, he liked to enjoy the society of his own countrymen and countrywomen in his leisure hours. But when at home, in England, he is far more ready to get rid of his egotistical prejudices and exclusive preference of his own race, and is more inclined to be hospitable towards his Oriental fellow-citizens. Another obstacle to social intercourse between the two races, to which Mr. Tayler had alluded, was to be found in the difficulties of caste; but to Indians now in London, those difficulties must have been already overcome in a very large degree. He saw the other day an account of one of the great banquets at the Mansion House, in which it was stated that two distinguished Hindus who were present “partook of some strawberries and rice.” All Indians would know that by partaking of rice one of the greatest possible breaches of caste would have been committed; hence it was hardly surprising that there appeared a subsequent paragraph, explaining that by a printer's error an “r” had been interpolated, and that the Hindu guests had really accepted no more solid refreshment than strawberries and “ice.” Still he would repeat that, under whatever restrictions they placed themselves, many of the difficulties of caste must have been previously overcome by the Hindus now in London, and hence there were not so many obstacles here as in India, in the way of those social intimacies which must contribute largely to the formation of a sound public opinion, and which would be greatly promoted and facilitated in such a Club as Professor Sheldon Amos advocated. For these reasons, he thought the remarks of Mr. Amos were very much to the point, and he entertained a strong hope, therefore, of seeing such a Club established and thriving before long in a more liberal atmosphere and a more bracing intellectual climate than could be found in Calcutta.

Dr. BRIDGES asked if any of the Associations represented in the meeting had issued any series of publications calculated to educate English public opinion upon Indian affairs. He might explain his meaning more clearly by pointing to what had been done with admirable

effect by the Jamaica Committee. That Committee issued a series of publications simply with a view of explaining the real state of the case; and upon these Indian questions, this appeared to him to be precisely what was wanted. Clear elementary histories of the main points raised in connection with India should be issued, suitable for the perusal of the English working classes; and secondly, brief and clear pamphlets upon all the difficulties and grievances which are extant in the British Empire in the East. Such an issue would go far to remove the ignorance regarding India of which complaint was made.

Colonel RATHBONE said he had had some experience on the question of publicity in Indian affairs, as he had given great attention to it for many years. While agreeing with many of Mr. Chesson's suggestions for the education of English public opinion on Indian affairs, he also thoroughly shared the convictions of Sir James Anderson, that if the Natives of India really wish to have a good Government, they should use the same means exerted by other peoples, and by enforcing their claims on the Government, they would sooner or later succeed. In European countries the power of the press is supreme; every interest that wishes to succeed establishes its own organ, and does not go about asking this class or that class to take up its cause, but combines to work for itself. He had urged that a similar course should be adopted in respect to Indian grievances, but he always found that while people were quite ready to spend their money in separate efforts to procure themselves redress, they failed to see the advantages of combination with others. If, therefore, the Native case is in the unsatisfactory position in which it stands—if Mr. Grant Duff is able to make off-hand and incorrect statements with impunity in the House of Commons—it is mainly owing to the fact that the Natives themselves will not combine for their own purposes and fight their own battles, just as every other section of the empire fights its own battles, and just as every class of English society does, by means of the weapon of the press. Until something like this be done, it will be utterly impossible to educate English public opinion, and induce it to interest itself largely in Indian public affairs.

Mr. JOHN JONES did not agree with those who lauded the press of this country; its private interests were always paramount; its single eye was to keep its circulation and its advertising connection; and, so that it might live and prosper, it was content that all else might perish. Under these circumstances, he did not share the opinions of those who recommended the press as the vehicle of ameliorating the condition of India; for the press was an engine of management, and not a fair exponent of public feeling. As an instance of this, he pointed to the report of the

debate on Mr. Chesson's lecture on the claims of the Princes of India. It had been stated that Mr. Chesson was responsible for that report, and this was a favourable opportunity for his owning or denying it.

Mr. CHESSEON said he did not communicate the report to the *Asiatic*.

Mr. JONES begged Mr. Chesson's pardon, then, for having thought wrongly of him. However, it did not affect the main question, that the press was not a fair exponent of public opinion. If they wanted a fair report of the speeches of Conservatives in the House of Commons, could they find it in a Liberal organ; or would they expect a full report of the Liberals in the Conservative newspapers? The truth was—and the sooner the people of India acted upon the fact the better for themselves —the people of England are far too much occupied with their own affairs to take the trouble to know anything about the people of India; it is far too large a matter, and they find it more than sufficiently difficult to understand their own business. Witness the comparatively ineffectual labours of Urquhart and Crawshay to awaken the interest of the working classes in the foreign relations of this country, in which are involved their own comforts of life. It by no means followed that no account could be taken of the wants and interests of India; that could be effectually provided for by marking off a certain section of society to take a share in the government, by giving them the power of electing the Indian Council—by instituting a periodical assembly, something like the old East India Company, of those having vested interests in India. Such an assembly as this last, whether composed of English or English and Natives of India, would be far superior to anything that could be expected in the House of Commons or House of Lords.

Mr. SRENATH DATTA said he would not rise to address them in a foreign language, which, he need not confess, he had not the happy facility to speak fluently and correctly, had he not the confidence that he should be able to offer a few remarks which might be useful to the Association. When the public feeling here is being exasperated by the sudden information of the alarmists, no subject than the one they had to discuss that evening could be better suited for the present occasion. Now, the means which Englishmen can avail themselves of for information on Indian affairs were, in his humble opinion, only four. 1. Englishmen returned from India. 2. Englishmen who have not gone to India, but have studied the subject. 3. Indian gentlemen visiting or residing in this country. 4. The Indian Press. He could not but enter his weak protest against the popular theory, so current in England at present, that it is impossible to know Indian matters without going to that country, and that no one should be guided by the well-balanced and most correct information of others. Speaking for himself

and his friends, he could clearly assert that they had never read the volumes of Edmund Burke or the speeches of Mr. Bright without asking themselves, with astonishment, how it had come to pass that a foreigner, who had never seen their land or their country, could have such correct information about them. One speaker pretended to be serious when he told them that it was not possible to understand Indian affairs without consulting the Sanskrit dictionary of Mr. Wilson. In answer to that statement, he could only draw their attention to the simple fact that no one had up to this time succeeded in disproving the most correct information of Edmund Burke, of Mr. Bright, and of Professor Fawcett. Without any pretension to Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic scholarship, they have shown a degree of correct information, which is astonishing even to Natives of India. He failed to perceive the truth of the bold statement that only the contemporaneous writers who had been eye-witnesses should be believed. He had every reason to believe that the English people had better confidence in Mr. Hallam on the great questions of the seventeenth century than they had in the Earl of Clarendon; though the former was born two centuries after the actual events, and the latter was not only an eye-witness, but a contemporaneous historian. Just as much as in every other subject the public are justified in placing their confidence in those studious men who make these subjects their special study, so the English public should believe those (so far as it is possible to believe another man) who have thoroughly studied Indian politics. No one has ever pretended to say that every Englishman is an astronomer or a geologist, or that he has himself studied every subject thoroughly. Still, we know him, believing in the truth of astronomy and geology almost as firmly as the astronomers and geologists themselves. Few Englishmen had turned the pages which Mr. Hallam, Lord Macaulay, and Mr. Grote must have spent nights and days in maturing, without feeling so great a confidence in those historians as might appear to some like hero-worship. He had thus clearly stated his firm conviction that it was quite possible to master Indian affairs without going to that country. He begged their permission to warn them against placing too much confidence in those who had seen India. Let it be distinctly borne in mind that the Englishmen in India rarely meet the Natives except in their official duties, when they cannot avoid a certain degree of mutual intercourse. They have thus no clear advantage over those who have not visited India, to understand better the feelings and real condition of the people. He need hardly repeat how oppressively the income-tax has worked against the poor people of India; but what could be thought of the Finance

Minister (Sir R. Temple), who was the active author of that law, and who had lived in India for some years, when he said, in answer to other members of the Legislative Council, that he had not heard nor seen one instance of oppression by his instrument of torture? The unfortunate income-tax has created such an unquenchable flame of discontent that the late lamented Lord Mayo himself entered his protest against it. He did not mean to say that they should treat with derision every information of Englishmen returned from India, but he simply urged that they should not repose unlimited confidence in them, for it has been, and will continue to be, dangerous to do so. If one, like Mr. Bright, has a sincere mind to know Indian affairs thoroughly, he can do it as easily in England as in India, with this slight difference, that he has the direct advantage in the latter case of attesting some of his information. It would be admitted that true scepticism consists in disbelieving truth which reason and facts do incontestably prove, and it is this which has unfortunately overtaken many well-minded Englishmen in this country. In their great anxiety to be guided by true information they disbelieve those very men who have devoted a great part of their time to the study of Indian politics, and who only can be trusted on that subject. Turning now to the third means—viz., the Indian gentlemen visiting this country—many of those present were aware that most of the Natives come to this country for a better education, and therefore the information they might give the English people will be nothing more than what can be expected from students still in their college. Sharing the popular discontent in common with others, these might, however, correctly inform the English people what the Native complaints are. For instance, they might state, without fear of contradiction, that the income-tax has made many beggared and houseless. But it was difficult for them to point out the source whence the Government is to be supplied with money if the income-tax be abolished. They might also tell how the edicts for appointing the Natives to higher offices had been turned into dead letters, and how the abolition of the few Government colleges by Mr. Campbell has uprooted all the confidence of the people in the English Government with regard to high education. He had one thing more to consider—viz., the Indian press. The Indians have newspapers both in English and in the different vernaculars of the country; and Lord Lawrence did them great service by appointing an officer whose duty it is to translate faithfully (not literally) the articles of vernacular editors which dwell on any Government measure or servant, or anything having political importance. This paper, published weekly, and called *The Weekly Reports*, is circulated among all the Government officers and the Native editors, for their information. As the intention

of the discussion was to suggest means by which the English public can be taught what are the Native complaints, and what is the Native opinion of the English Government, he thought that purpose would be best served by publishing that weekly paper either with the journal of this Association, or in some daily paper like the *Daily News*. Two columns in the pages of the *Daily News* once a-week would not be much, and he was convinced that paper (the *Daily News*) would have reason to be proud of the advocacy of the cause of 200 millions of people, and of the advanced thoughts which the admission of such subjects would secure; and eventually the newspaper would find its pecuniary reward by its becoming most popular among all those who desired to understand Indian affairs, and who wished to hear the Indians speak for themselves. Though very desirable, there are not means of publishing condensed extracts from the Native English papers; and the necessity is much lessened from the fact that some of those who wish to inform them on Indian politics take the trouble of reading them themselves. But is it a matter of fact that Englishmen are so entirely ignorant of, and indifferent to, Indian affairs as some of the bold and careless speakers would like them to believe? Could any member of the House of Commons unblushingly parade his ignorance of the Act of perfect religious toleration; of the admission of the Natives into the Indian Civil Service, Engineering, Medicine, and Surgery, which amounts to perfect political equality between the conquered and the conquerors; and of the Education Despatch of 1854, which has pledged the Government to give the Natives a good and liberal English high education? These and several other solemn pledges of the English nation, successively given to the Natives from the beginning of the English Administration, are esteemed the dearest privileges by the Natives—privileges which the Government has no moral right to disregard. Some Englishmen say that they are *too good* for a subject nation, and perhaps they are. But no Minister or King in England can overthrow the fundamental principle of the English Constitution, that there should be “no taxation without representation.” Supposing that any one should attempt it, he would be sure to meet with no better fate than befell the Earl of Strafford, and Charles I., and James II. The English nation has no right to turn again to the question, whether a dark skin is not a sufficient disqualification against the Natives being admitted to responsible offices; for this question has already been decided by the proclamations of the British Sovereigns and British Parliaments. Just as the best service, and indeed the only service, that a Prime Minister or private member can do to England is to accept the fundamental principles of the Constitution and facilitate their working in a way which is calculated to produce the maximum

amount of happiness, so the Secretaries of State and Governors-General of India are morally and legally bound to accept the fundamental promises of the British nation to the Hindus and Mahomedans, and to enact the laws by which they can be best maintained. Thus it is that the attempt of the successive Governments to deprive the Natives of those privileges which the British nation has solemnly given, is not only inexpedient and unjust, but also mischievous and criminal. The reduction of age in the Civil Service and Civil Engineering, the inferiority of marks in Sanskrit as compared with Greek and Latin in the former, and its exclusion in the latter; the abolition of the State-scholarships by his Grace the Duke of Argyll and of the Government Colleges by Mr. Campbell; the breach of the Permanent Settlement,—these are plain facts, like the noon-day sun, which there is certainly no glory in the members of Parliament ignoring. If the East India Association could succeed in publishing the weekly reports in its Journal such as he had indicated, the members of Parliament would no longer be derided, when asking for information, by the evasive answers of Mr. Grant Duff, who has so little confidence in himself on the affairs of India, that he does not dare to address his constituents on that subject, lest he should be contradicted by cries of “No” and “Question” from among them. Let it be distinctly borne in mind that India is fully alive to the benefits of the English Administration, for it is a “reign of law” which they esteem to such an extent as to regard it as a kind of Providential interference. Nor has India uttered a single word against her foreign governors for *inevitable* ignorance. But *studied* ignorance, intentional omission and commission, deliberate spoliation and premeditated annexation, are moral and political crimes too great to be in any way palliated by mean excuses.

Mr. A. D. TYSSEN, replying to Dr. Bridges, explained that the Association in aid of Social Progress in India in some degree met the want to which he alluded, by publishing lectures delivered at their meetings, and also a monthly journal containing information on various subjects connected with India.*

The CHAIRMAN said the time had now far advanced, and he was afraid it was his duty to suggest what he thought they would all consider a duty in regard to Mr. Chesson. However much they might have differed in the course of the debate, there was one opinion in which he was sure they would all be unanimous, and that was in thanking Mr. Chesson for the thoughtful and instructive lecture he had delivered. If he could

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anticipate any opposition, he would not have deviated from the usual course in moving this vote; but as in practice the Chairman was frequently supposed to embody the sentiments of the meeting, he ventured to express his own feeling and theirs in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Chesson for his valuable address, which he hoped would find its way extensively into print.

Mr. WM. BOTLY, in seconding the vote of thanks, joined with the Chairman in expressing his deep sense of the value of Mr. Chesson's lecture, and was quite sure there were many points in it which were worthy of the gravest consideration. Apart from the lecture itself, there had been one or two points of disagreement, and had there been time, he would have liked to answer some of the objections raised by Mr. Jones, who had now unfortunately left the sublime and dignified company* in which he found himself. The suggestion that there should be an Indian party in the House of Commons pledged to support each other, was a most valuable one, as was also the suggestion that some of the Native chiefs should be admitted to the House of Lords. But he quite disagreed with Mr. Jones in his statement that the English are too much engaged in their own affairs to be able to pay attention to India; because India was England's own affair, and a very important part of her own business; and moreover he was quite sure that if the English people were only made acquainted with the facts upon which the Natives of India based their complaints, they would actively demand a remedy. He had much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Chesson.

The vote having been carried unanimously,

Mr. CHESSEON returned his sincere thanks to the meeting for their kind attention during the delivery of the lecture, and for the vote which they had just passed. At that late hour, he would only venture to say one or two words in explanation. He must be held responsible for the speech made by Professor Amos, because that gentleman came at his special invitation; and in answer to Mr. Tayler's strictures on Professor Amos's speech, he must call the former gentleman's attention to the fact that the Lecturer had strongly advocated the adoption of some steps to bring the Natives of India resident in London into personal contact with the English people. And, therefore, the remarks of Professor Amos, so far from being irrelevant, were absolutely pertinent to that part of the lecture. To that speaker, who appeared to be under the impression that the Lecturer had not advocated the opening of the Indian Council, he would point out that he had most distinctly advocated it as a most important and necessary reform. He would not further detain the meeting,

* The Nawab of Bengal and many Orientals were present.

because, although there had been some disagreement between the speakers, there had been no marked dissent from the several suggestions he had made.

Mr. VENCATASAWMY NAIDOO moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and in doing so, observed that he could hardly agree that the Indian people had only to ask for themselves, and they would procure amelioration, for the Government had long been acquainted with those wrongs, and had done comparatively little in the way of redress. The fact was, that Native remonstrances did not receive much attention. He, therefore, looked with great interest to the discussions of the East India Association, as tending to the elucidation of the Indian difficulties, and as materially aiding those who, like the Chairman, laboured zealously in the House of Commons in the same direction.

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD, in seconding the motion, said he would not detain the meeting at that late hour, and it was fortunately not necessary, for it was well known that so long as Mr. Torrens retained a seat in the House of Commons—and long might he continue to do so—they would, at any rate, have one man there who would never fail to advocate the interests of the people of India.

The motion was then adopted *nem. con.*

The CHAIRMAN, in acknowledging the vote, said that if anything could add to the feeling of satisfaction with which he received their thanks, it was that the vote was proposed by a fellow-subject of another race, but not of another realm or another empire; and that it was seconded by a countryman of his own of such a reputation as Mr. Prichard. He felt this was a good omen of the end which they all desired to see. To his friend who moved the vote he would venture to say that his own experience of the English people led him to think that petitions were very far from useless in the House of Commons, for, if they did not produce any immediate result, they operated in the direction suggested by a witty writer, who urged that it is not only necessary to strike while the iron is hot, but that it should be struck until it is made hot. He, for one, desired no better vocation in life than to help Mr. Vencatasawmy and his countymen to keep “bang, bang” upon the iron until they made it too hot for those official hands who held it in terror over India. He knew by an experience no older than that very day, that it was possible to make representations to men in high places, and have them disregarded or replied to in an offhand style. But to knock at the door and run away was of no use; they must knock at it until it was opened. He had a perfect faith that where the cause was just and right, publicity and the electric interchange of sympathy would bring about justice in the end; and if they ceased their efforts, it would

be upon them that the blame would rest for the continuance of the wretched system of misrule and assumption in India. He saw amongst those present some gentlemen who had great wrongs to plead, and with whom it was the duty of every earnest Englishman to co-operate; and even if they failed to-morrow, and failed the day after, he would still be ready to persevere in the work, for he had unbounded faith in the justice of the English people when they were made conscious of a wrong. It was not fair to condemn the whole English nation as accomplices in any wrong perpetrated in its name in India, for they were a busy people much occupied with home affairs. Nor did he at all agree with one speaker (Mr. Jones), that the press of England was corrupt. On the contrary, he thought it the greatest and noblest organ of opinion in the world. It is open to all men; no cause, however humble or distant, but can find a voice through it, if it be pleaded in a proper way. Naturally, of course, English affairs occupied a large portion of the space of the English press; and that must be so. But he was sufficiently acquainted with the organs of public opinion to feel encouraged to lift up his voice in protest against the charge that the English press was exclusive, or that it was deaf to distant complaint. He remembered that during the terrible days of the Indian Mutiny, when the English press was going through a serious trial of responsibility, and when the consequences of its deviation from calmness and strict justice would have been most deplorable in its results—he remembered how nobly it raised its voice in reprobation of all such iniquitous vengeance as the passions of men suggested during the worst days of that fearful struggle. Throughout that anxious period the English press generally showed a spirit of justice and of brotherhood, which made its influence widely felt. And if the English press was able to maintain this judicial and forbearing attitude in such a trial as the Indian Mutiny, they had no reason to fear its discouragement in the golden days which he trusted were soon to dawn. He thoroughly agreed with those who had urged the advantages of publicity, and so would have it extended not only in respect to the proceedings of the India Council, but into other regions of darkness and mystery—in the region of diplomacy, for example. He believed the days were fast coming when mystification and lying and going behind backs would not be considered as necessary ingredients in diplomacy; and that in that time nations would find other ways of settling their mutual affairs than by means of such expedients. And if they were to keep this great British Empire—unquestionably the greatest the world has ever seen—in all its power and grandeur, it must be by conferring upon all the communities that contribute to its greatness those rights which would induce a sense of brotherhood and common citizenship.

A vote of thanks to the Society of Arts terminated the proceedings.

MEETING AT THE SOCIETY OF ARTS, TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1872.

ILTUDUS T. PRICHARD, Esq., IN THE CHAIR.

Paper read by ALMARIC RUMSEY, Esq., B.A., Barrister-at-Law,
Assistant Solicitor for Her Majesty's Customs.

Mahomedan Inheritance.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, introduced Mr. Almaric Rumsey, whose subject, "The Law of Mahomedan Inheritance," was one to which he had given great attention, and one which he was eminently able to do full justice. It was now, probably, a very popular subject, and at this time of the year especially a numerous audience could hardly be expected. But those who were present would be certain to hear a paper well worth listening to, and one, too, upon a topic of far more importance than might at first sight be supposed.

Mr. ALMARIC RUMSEY then delivered the following lecture:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I shall necessarily have to deal somewhat briefly, in a paper of this kind, with the leading points of a subject which would require a much longer time for its full exposition; and in order not to contract still more the limited space at my command, I shall ask you to allow me to plunge in *medias res* very soon, instead of introducing my remarks by a long and formal preamble. A few words, however, may be allowed by way of explanation, in bringing before you that which may appear at first sight to be a dry legal topic—a few words to justify the choice of the subject, and in particular to explain why Mahomedan Inheritance may well be deemed to form a study of special interest, as distinguished from the Law of Inheritance of our own or any other nation. I may say, then, in the first place, that Mahomedan Inheritance will appear, as we approach it, to be by no means the dry and uninteresting subject that might be expected. It differs very much from every other system that I have met with, and, probably, from any that the world has seen; and the mere existence of such difference gives it an air of novelty which in itself is enough to engage the attention of the curious. From our own system it differs, perhaps, more than from any other, and to us it should therefore be more interesting than to the rest of the world. It is remarkable for its nice and elegant adjustment of co-existent rights, and for an arrangement and elaboration which may truly be called scientific. How different from the English system, which contents itself, in most instances, with giving one sort of property bodily to a single

individual, and dividing another sort equally between a particular class, without any regard to the many other persons who, in a large circle of relations, may reasonably be supposed to claim some attention. The Mahomedan system, being more just, is, for that very reason, more instructive, and bears the obvious marks of a more enlightened treatment. Nor is this so wonderful as we, in our European pride, might be apt at first to imagine, for the Mahomedan Law of Inheritance, deduced originally from a few short passages in the Koran, was, in its actual development, the work of the greatest ages of Mahomedan strength and knowledge; while the English system, derived from the middle ages, and the Saxon time before them—a mixed relic of the rugged feudal and anti-feudal periods—can scarcely be expected to show the same signs of benevolent consideration and philosophic reflection. The Englishman of the present day need not be ashamed to admit that the Arabian philosophers of the middle ages were, in many respects, the intellectual superiors of his own ancestors. If there be any truth in the maxim, "*Fas est ab hoste doceri*," there is still greater reason in accepting assistance from those who, though aliens in blood, are not enemies, but fellow-subjects. In India there are I know not how many millions of Mahomedans, who, like ourselves, owe allegiance to the Queen of England; and we need not scruple, while offering them what help we can, at the same time to profit by their knowledge and experience. I am not reading this paper with the view of suggesting that we should throw our own law overboard, and, in its stead, accept the Mahomedan law *in toto*; but I think it is always worth while for nations, as for individuals, to consider what they see around them, and to pick out for imitation anything that may clearly appear to be more just, more useful, or more excellent in any way than what they have been accustomed to before. Only a few days ago, I was asked by a lady, what were the rights of a wife in England, in case of the decease of her husband. I told her briefly the English law on the subject, and I found that it excited some surprise and dissatisfaction. "How strange," the lady said (she was a married lady; somehow young ladies don't inform themselves about these points, as they ought, before they get married), "that at the moment when a wife's means are reduced by her becoming a widow, the law should still further curtail them by allowing her only a half or a third of her husband's property. She must have to change her style of living, and must be put to great inconvenience. The right thing would be to let her have the whole income for her life, and then the property itself might go to other people after." My fair interlocutor had accidentally hit upon a time-honoured provision of Hindu law, as many of my present audience will no doubt remember; and although there may be different opinions as to

matters of the kind, there can be little doubt that it is useful to study different systems, that it is depressing to work continually in the same groove, and that we may often borrow useful hints from our neighbours. While, therefore, I by no means presume to expect the British Legislature to adopt the Mahomedan system, or any other foreign system, absolutely, I yet think it not unreasonable to invite an English audience to listen to some of the points on which the Mahomedan law differs from our own, and even to contemplate those points with the view of considering whether some of them may not hereafter with advantage be engrafted on our juridical tree.

The most marked points of principle in which the Mahomedan Law of Inheritance stands apart from our own are, perhaps, the following :—

1. After payment of funeral expenses, debts, &c., only one-third of what remains can pass by will; consequently there must always be intestacy as to two-thirds—a circumstance which renders the law of inheritance vastly more important than it can possibly be in a country where any man may, as in England, at pleasure, devise and bequeath all his property to strangers, or distribute it in any way he chooses among relations.

2. There is no division of property into real and personal, so that the distinction of English law between heir and next of kin is unknown. In fact, there is no “heir” in the English sense of the word; in other words, there is no sole inheritor, and the word “heirs,” according to Mahomedan law, includes all who belong to the class of sharers, or to that of residuaries—terms which we shall presently have to define.

3. There is no distinction between ancestral and acquired property; consequently, the title to all kinds of property descending by intestacy is derived immediately from the deceased possessor. Thus there is not the necessity which, in the case of real property, exists in England, of ascertaining who was the “last purchaser”—that is, the last person entitled who did not inherit.

4. There is no right of primogeniture; so that if a man leave several sons, the eldest has no greater rights than each of his younger brethren.

5. There is no right by representation; so that if a man have two sons, and one of them die before him, leaving children, those children will not be entitled to the share of their deceased parent. On the other hand, if the other son were to die childless, the children above-mentioned would succeed, but it would be in their own right, as grandchildren of the *propositus*, in the absence of any surviving sons.

6. The method of distribution is of a much more varied description than with us; abounding in exceptions and alternatives; so expansive as to include a large number of relations of different degrees, yet limited in

various directions with such care that the rights of some of the nearest relations can never be infringed, and that, in the presence of even a single member of certain preferential classes, no relations outside the pale of those classes can take anything.

It is the last-mentioned point that forms the most interesting characteristic of Mahomedan inheritance, for it is in considering this point that we shall see its striking originality and the wonderful forethought of its authors most conspicuously displayed. On the subject of distribution, therefore, we shall proceed to make some remarks, and we shall endeavour to give such a sketch that the hearer may be able to form an opinion as to the merits of the system, though a complete picture cannot, of course, be given within the space of a paper of this kind.

All possible relations of a deceased person are divided, by clear and decisive rules, into three classes—sharers, residuaries, and distant kindred. The sharers, who may be entitled, according to the degree of relationship, to a half, a third, an eighth, or some other definite fraction, include father, mother, daughters, sons' daughters, sisters, half-brothers and sisters, and some other near relations. The residuaries are, primarily, all males related through males only. The distant kindred are all relations who do not come within either of the other two classes, and, consequently, their definition is merely negative. The rights of these three classes may be very simply defined, subject to further explanations. The sharers (if any) take the whole property if their prescribed shares exhaust it, but if there is any over, it is divided among the residuaries (if any); the distant kindred, therefore, in such case, get nothing. Such is the result, too, if there are no sharers, for then the residuaries take the whole. But when there are neither sharers nor residuaries, the distant kindred come in, and enjoy the entire inheritance. To the arithmetical mind two questions will immediately occur, and they will be readily answered. If the fractions claimed by the sharers exceed unity, or the whole estate, what then? If, on the other hand, they are less than the whole, and there happen to be no residuaries, what then? The former difficulty is met by the doctrine of the "increase," which provides that the shares shall abate proportionally, and lays down a very simple rule for effecting the proper distribution. The latter is provided for by the "return," described as "the converse of the increase," and by this doctrine the sharers (except husband and wife, who may not partake of the return) divide the residue among them in the exact proportion of their original shares. In these cases, again, the distant kindred, of course, get nothing, and, as we shall, probably, not have time to mention the distant kindred again, it may be as well to dismiss them with the observation that there are fixed rules for the distribution amongst them

when they come in, but that they can never come in when there are residuaries, and never when there are sharers, or a sharer, unless such sharers or sharer be only wives, or a wife or husband.

The scheme, as far as we have explained it hitherto, might, perhaps, be thought, at first sight, to be sufficiently elaborate, and to take very liberal care of the different grades of relationship. But the thoughtfulness of the fathers of Mahomedan law does not end here. The shares may vary in a great many ways, according to particular circumstances; the sharers may, in some cases, be residuaries instead of sharers, or residuaries as well as sharers; and the whole system is guarded by the rules of "exclusion," which place, generally, a nearer before a more distant relation, and thus prevent too many persons from succeeding at once; while those rules, on the other hand, are themselves carefully limited and so circumscribed, that certain very near relations cannot, under any circumstances, be excluded. Thus, daughters are primarily sharers, taking one-half when there is only one and no son, two-thirds when there are two or more, and no son; but if there be a son or sons, the daughters become residuaries, each daughter taking half as much as each son—*e.g.*, one daughter and one son will take thus: daughter, one-third of residue; son, two-thirds; two daughters and one son—daughters, one-quarter each; son, one-half, and so on. The same rule holds with sisters, and most other female relations, when they happen to inherit together with their own brothers. On the other hand, the father, primarily a sharer, becomes a residuary, as well as a sharer, if there are daughters, but no sons or sons' sons, how low soever; the daughters taking their share, and the father adding the residue, after that, to his own share, one-sixth. And if there be neither daughters nor sons, nor any descendant of either above the degree of distant kindred, the father adds the whole residue to his share. With regard to exclusion, the general rule is that the nearer excludes the more remote. Thus, a brother excludes a nephew, a son excludes a son's son, a father excludes a father's father; but parents, children, husband, and wife, though their shares and rights may vary according to particular circumstances, can never be entirely excluded from the inheritance. The instances of shares varying according to circumstances are very numerous. Thus, a husband takes a half if there are no children, but only a quarter if there are children; a wife (or wives) a quarter if there are no children, but only an eighth if there are children; a mother takes one-sixth, one-third, or one-third of a certain portion only, according to circumstances; and daughters, sisters, and other female relations may have a half if there be only one in such relationship, but will divide two-thirds amongst them if there be several.

I have already said enough, perhaps, to show that this is a system of

a very remarkable character; and I think it will be allowed that many of its peculiarities are on the side of humanity and justice. Whatever may be said in favour of absolute power of disposition by will, it must be at least allowed that when intestacy does occur, the law has a function to perform which ought to be discharged with a fatherly consideration for those in whom the deceased may be presumed to have taken an interest in his life-time. Our own law is rather slovenly in this direction; the Mahomedan law, on the other hand, carries a tender and equitable thoughtfulness for the survivors to a point which is very unusual, and perhaps wholly unexampled. While its inclusive character secures the comfort of a great number, its provisions are so elastic that injustice is done to none. The succession of those most likely to be dependent on the deceased is absolutely secured, and their shares are sometimes sufficient, *primit facie*, to exhaust the whole; but so nicely is the shifting machinery adjusted that in no instance can such a result occur, except in the absence of any other very near relations. A few simple instances of distribution will do something towards illustrating what I have said. Let us take the following:—

Father, mother, and two daughters: The father takes one-sixth, the mother one-sixth, the daughters take the two-thirds that remain, and so exhaust the property.

Father, mother, ten daughters: The father takes one-sixth, the mother one-sixth, the daughters divide the remaining two-thirds; so the property is exhausted.

Father, mother, one daughter: The father takes one-sixth, the mother one-sixth, the daughter one-half; and then the father comes in as a residuary for the one-sixth that still remains.

Father, mother, two daughters, one son: We have seen that if there were no son, the property would be exhausted by the father, mother, and two daughters; but as there is a son, the daughters, instead of taking two-thirds as a share, are merely residuaries, and each daughter takes half as much as the son. Therefore, we shall have—father, one-sixth; mother, one-sixth (as before); son, one-third; each daughter, one-sixth.

Father and mother only: Here the father takes one-sixth, the mother one-sixth, and then the father, as a residuary, takes what remains, so that he has in all five-sixths.

Wife, mother, sister: The wife's share is here one-fourth, the mother's, one-third (because there are no children); the sister's, one-half (because there are no daughters). Thus we seem called upon, at first sight, to provide one-fourth, one-third, and one-half, or thirteen-twelfths—a feat which Sir Isaac Newton himself could not have performed. The rule of the "increase" (which will be alluded to again

hereafter) gets us out of the difficulty, and instead of three, four, and six, twelfths, the sharers take respectively three, four, and six, thirteenths.

Wife, three sons, two daughters, and son's son: The son's son is excluded by the sons. The wife takes one-eighth (because there are children); the sons and daughters, as residuaries, divide the seven-eighths which remain, each daughter taking half as much as each son; so that each daughter takes seven, and each son fourteen, sixty-fourths.

Wife, mother, two sons: The wife takes one-eighth, the mother one-sixth, and each son takes half the residue, or seventeen forty-eighths.

More complicated cases are the following:—

Three wives, six sons, six daughters: Each wife takes one twenty-fourth, each daughter seven hundred and forty-fourth parts, each son fourteen hundred and forty-fourth parts.

Wife, eighteen daughters, fifteen true grandmothers, six paternal uncles: Here each wife takes a hundred and thirty-five four thousand three hundred and twentieth parts, each daughter a hundred and sixty similar parts, each grandmother forty-eight, each paternal uncle thirty.

The above examples have been given in order to illustrate the distribution of the estate among various sets of relations, not to show the arithmetical working. But the old Arabian methods are so interesting as a curiosity, and so perfect in their attainment of the object desired, that it may not be amiss to give some little explanation of them. Many of those whom I have the honour of addressing may be aware that in an English commercial office a man may be able to execute some portion of the work of accounts—*e.g.*, to post from the journal to the ledger—without being acquainted with the general principles of book-keeping. In the same way, by using the rules laid down in the *Sirajiyah*, it is possible to work out the most complicated problem of inheritance without being acquainted with the general principles of arithmetic. Nay, it is quite possible for one person to work one part of the problem, and a second person another part, the work being thus distributed among several hands, and a correct result will be arrived at, without any of the operators really taking a comprehensive view of the whole question. I do not advocate the adoption of the Arabian system, for I think that, since it has now become the fashion to study something else besides Greek and Latin at our public schools, most educated Englishmen will in future, know enough of fractions to work out the problems of Mahomedan Inheritance by the aid of their own arithmetical knowledge. But to the public school-boy or the young Oxford man of a few years ago, who used almost to make it a boast that he never *could* understand mathematics, the mechanical operations of the *Sirajiyah* might have been extremely useful; even as it is, they are highly interesting, and it must

have been a marvellously ingenious mind that could analyse and classify the innumerable cases that may occur in so complete a manner as to enable the mere lawyer, without the aid of general mathematical principles, to work out the most elaborate problems in fractions with unerring accuracy.

The first stage of this curious operation, after rejecting excluded persons, is to assign to the several sharers, or classes of sharers, their particular shares; thus, to a wife, one-fourth, if there are no children; one-eighth if there are; to a mother, or, in her absence, a true grandmother, one-sixth; to an only sister, one-half, &c.

The next stage is to assign the appropriate "root" or "divisor." This is what we should call in England the least common denominator of the fractions which express the shares. As there are only a few such fractions—namely, a half, a quarter, an eighth, two-thirds, one-third, and one-sixth—an empirical rule is laid down, by which, without calculation, the divisor is at once determined. The shares are classified into two sorts, consisting respectively of those which have not, and those which have, three as a factor of the denominator; and after giving easy rules for the more simple cases, the 'Sirajiyyah goes on to say, with regard to the more complicated, that, "when half, which is from the first sort, is mixed with all the second sort, or with some of them, then the division of the estate must be by six; when a fourth is mixed, &c., then the division of the estate must be into twelve; and when an eighth is mixed, &c., then it must be into four-and-twenty parts." The result of these rules is, that the student gets the least common denominator with unerring correctness—*e.g.*, if the fractions are one-half, two-thirds, one-sixth, we get the *l.c.d.* six; if they are one-eighth, two-thirds, one-sixth, the *l.c.d.* will be twenty-four, and so on.

The next stage is to find the "arrangement"—in other words, the least common denominator of the fractions which arise when any of the shares are divisible among several claimants. For instance, if there are four wives, five daughters, and seven paternal uncles, we shall have, at first, the fractions one-eighth, two-thirds, and the divisor will be twenty-four. The wives will thus have, amongst them, three twenty-fourths; the daughters, sixteen twenty-fourths; and the paternal uncles, who are residuaries, the remaining five twenty-fourths. Now it is clear that a further process is necessary, in order to find what each wife, each daughter, and each uncle is entitled to. An English arithmetician would put it thus:—

Each wife	$\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{3}{24}$
Each daughter	$\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{16}{24}$
Each uncle	$\frac{1}{7}$ of $\frac{5}{24}$

And then we should reduce the compound fractions, and give each his share accordingly. But the Arabian lawyer is not satisfied with this compendious method, or, rather, we must take him to be ignorant of it; his business is, at this stage, to find the entire number of equal parts into which the estate must be divided; in other words, the number which, according to our arithmetical terminology, would be called the least common denominator of the above-mentioned compound fractions. For this purpose, he has recourse to what are called the principles of arrangement, by which he is taught to ascertain such least common denominator in every possible combination of shares and numbers. It may readily be supposed that these "principles," which are, in fact, empirical rules for classified cases, are rather complicated. Premising that numbers are called *mutawafik* when they have a common measure, and *mutabayan* when they are prime to one another, we may now proceed to give the principles of arrangement from the "Sirajiyyah." "In arranging cases, there is need of seven principles; three between the shares and the persons, and four between persons and persons. Of the three principles, the first is, that if the portions of all the classes be divided among them without a fraction, there is no need of multiplication, as if a man leave both parents and two daughters. The second is, that if the portions of one class be fractional, yet there be an agreement between their portions and their persons, then the measure of the number of persons whose shares are broken, must be multiplied by the root of the case, and its increase if it be an increased case, as if a man leave both parents and ten daughters, or a woman leave a husband, both parents, and six daughters. The third principle is, that if their portions leave a fraction, and there be no agreement between those portions and the persons, then the whole number of the persons whose shares are broken must be multiplied into the root of the case, as if a woman leave her husband and five sisters by the same father and mother. Of the four other principles, the first is, that when there is a fractional division between two classes, or more, but an equality between the numbers of the persons, then the rule is, that one of the numbers be multiplied into the root of the case, as if there be six daughters and three grandmothers, and three paternal uncles. The second is, when some of the numbers equally measure the others, then the rule is, that the greater number be multiplied into the root of the case, as if a man leave four wives and three grandmothers, and twelve paternal uncles. The third is, when some of the numbers are *mutawafik*, or composite with others; then the rule is, that the measure of the first of the numbers be multiplied into the whole of the second, and the product into the measure of the third, if the product of the third be *mutawafik*; or if

“ not, into the whole of the third, and then into the fourth, and so on, in
 “ the same manner, after which the product must be multiplied into the
 “ root of the case ; as if a man leave four wives, eighteen daughters,
 “ fifteen female ancestors, and six paternal uncles.* The fourth principle
 “ is, when the numbers are *mutabayun*, or not agreeing one with another,
 “ and then the rule is, that the first of the numbers be multiplied into
 “ the whole of the second, and the product multiplied by the whole of the
 “ third, and that product into the whole of the fourth, and the last pro-
 “ duct into the root of the case, as if a man leave six wives, six female
 “ ancestors, ten daughters, and seven paternal uncles.”

There still remain two stages, which are simpler than that which we have just described, and which, we may imagine, may perhaps have been entrusted to younger lawyers or to disciples, while the process of finding the arrangement may have been reserved for the skill of veteran sages. In the preceding stage we had to find the entire number of parts ; it still remains to find how many parts each class will take, and, then, how many of those parts will go to each member of such class ; in other words, having found the least common denominator of all the fractions, we are now to find the several numerators, and to divide the portion represented by each numerator equally among the claimants (if more than one) to whom it belongs. The rule for the first process is as follows :—
 “ When thou desirest to know the share of each class by arrangement,
 “ multiply what each class has from the root of the case by what thou
 “ hast already multiplied into the root of the case, and the product is the
 “ share of that class.” Several rules are given for finding the portion of an individual ; they all amount to the same thing, but the simplest, perhaps, is as follows :—“ If thou desirest to know the share of each
 “ individual in that class by arrangement, divide what each class has
 “ from the principle of the case by the number of persons in it.”

The strangeness of the technical language used in the passages above quoted must make it difficult for any Englishman, even if well versed in mathematics, to see and understand the working at a glance ; and of course, it is impossible to verify each process within the compass of this paper. But I can assure my hearers that I have worked out, elsewhere, every example in the *Sirajiyyah*, by the rules given in the *Sirajiyyah* itself, and that I have found the results exactly in accordance with those arrived at by English arithmetic. I have found, also, that the maxims of the *Sirajiyyah*, as far as I can judge, are absolutely perfect in comprehensiveness, so as to exhaust every class of case that can arise. With your permission, I shall, before leaving this branch of the subject, work out one moderately complicated example in both ways, so as to show the coincidence of the results.

A man dies, leaving four wives, eighteen daughters, fifteen true grandmothers, and six paternal uncles ; it is required to find what interest each of these relations takes in his estate.

The portions are, primarily, four wives, one-eighth ; eighteen daughters, two-thirds ; fifteen true grandmothers, one-sixth ; six paternal uncles, the residue. The root, according to the rule quoted above, is twenty-four, since eight is combined with six. The daughters' portion from the root—*i.e.*, the number of twenty-fourth parts that they will take—is sixteen ; and as that number and the number of daughters are not prime to one another, and their greatest common measure is two, the number of daughters (by the second principle between the shares and the persons) must be reduced to eighteen divided by two, or nine. Four, the number of wives, and nine, the number first obtained, which must now be treated as the number of daughters, have no agreement, *i.e.*, no common measure ; so, by the third principle between persons and persons, we multiply four by nine, and obtain thirty-six. Thirty-six and fifteen agree in three, *i.e.*, have a greatest common measure three, and the measure of fifteen—*i.e.*, fifteen divided by the greatest common measure—is five. Multiplying thirty-six by five, in accordance with the third principle above mentioned, we obtain one hundred and eighty ; this and the fourth number, six, agree in six, so the measure of six is six divided by six, or one, and, therefore, the final product is a hundred and eighty, multiplied by one ; in other words, a hundred and eighty is the final product. Multiplying this into the root of the case, twenty-four, we obtain the arrangement, or whole number of parts, which is four thousand three hundred and twenty. Next we have to apply the rule for finding the share of each class by arrangement. It is clear that the portions of classes from the root of the case (*i.e.*, the number of twenty-fourth parts taken by each class) are—

Wives, three.

Daughters, sixteen.

True grandmothers, four.

Paternal uncles, one.

Multiplying these numbers respectively by the number which we have multiplied into the root of the case, we get—

Wives, five hundred and forty.

Daughters, two thousand eight hundred and eighty.

True grandmothers, seven hundred and twenty.

Paternal uncles, one hundred and eighty.

Finally, we find the share of each individual by dividing the share of each class by the number of persons in that class, and we obtain—

Each wife, five hundred and forty by four ; or one hundred and thirty-five.

Each daughter, two thousand eight hundred and eighty by eighteen ;
or one hundred and sixty.

Each true grandmother, seven hundred and twenty by fifteen ; or
forty-eight.

Each paternal uncle, one hundred and eighty by six ; or thirty.

We shall now apply European methods to the same problem. First,
we have—

4 wives, $\frac{1}{8} \therefore$ each wife $\frac{1}{8} \div 4 = \frac{1}{32}$.

18 daughters, $\frac{2}{3} \therefore$ each daughter $\frac{2}{3} \div 18 = \frac{1}{27}$.

15 true grandmothers, $\frac{1}{6} \therefore$ each true grandmother $\frac{1}{6} \div 15 = \frac{1}{90}$.

The 6 uncles, who are residuaries, take—

$$1 - \frac{1}{8} - \frac{2}{3} - \frac{1}{6} = 1 - \frac{23}{24} = \frac{1}{24}$$

$$\therefore \text{Each paternal uncle, } \frac{1}{24} \div 6 = \frac{1}{144}.$$

Reducing these fractions to the least common denominator, we get—

Each wife	$\frac{135}{4320}$.
Each daughter	$\frac{160}{4320}$.
Each true grandmother.....	$\frac{48}{4320}$.
Each paternal uncle	$\frac{30}{4320}$.

And, turning back, we shall find that this result is identical with that obtained by the Oriental methods. Much longer and more complicated calculations are sometimes necessary when problems of “return” and “vested inheritance” arise. They can all be worked out, however, by careful attention to the rules, and by that amount of study and experiment which is always necessary in order to learn and interpret an unusual terminology. But I am sure you will excuse my going fully into these subjects, especially when I inform you that my favourite problem of vested inheritance, which I have published elsewhere, occupies in the working about nine pages of not very large print. As curiosities, however, I may mention and illustrate one or two short processes, that are remarkable for their elegance and simplicity. The first of these is the “increase,” or proportionate division among sharers when the shares, if paid *in toto*, would be more than the whole estate. Suppose we have—

Husband, one-fourth.

Father, one-sixth.

Mother, one-sixth.

Daughter, one-half.

Here the root, or least common denominator, is twelve ; adopting, for convenience, the European notation, we have—

Husband	$\frac{3}{12}$.
Father	$\frac{2}{12}$.
Mother	$\frac{2}{12}$.
Daughter	$\frac{6}{12}$.

So that there are $\frac{1}{12}$, or more than the whole, required. The Arabian calculator speedily solves the difficulty by increasing the root to 13; we have the necessary number of parts, and it is easy to see that the exact proportion is preserved.

The second illustration that I propose to give is that of the "return" in the simplest class of cases. The "return" is properly defined as the "converse of the increase," and consequently (except where the case is complicated by the presence of a wife or husband, who, though sharers, can take no return), it may be worked in the converse manner. Suppose, therefore, that we have—

Mother $\frac{1}{6}$;

Two daughters $\frac{2}{3}$;

the root is six, and the shares are, $\frac{1}{6}$, $\frac{4}{6}$; or only $\frac{5}{6}$ in all. In order to divide the whole among the claimants, "according to their rights," we must diminish the root to five; we then have $\frac{5}{5}$, the proper number of parts, and the due proportion is preserved. I am bound to say that the Sirajiyah does not exactly give the process in this way, but teaches the student to rely upon an empirical table of numbers by which the case is to be settled—*i.e.*, of diminished roots, which are to be substituted according to circumstances; but the process which I have given follows so naturally from the definition "converse of the increase," that I think it must have been used in practice.

The last process that I wish to exhibit is that of finding the "agreement" of two numbers—*i.e.*, their greatest common measure. This is done by alternate subtraction, instead of by successive division, as with us. It will be clear, on a moment's reflection, that successive addition produces the same effect as multiplication; thus, if we add ten threes together, we shall get thirty, or three multiplied by ten; conversely, successive subtraction must produce the same effect as division. It may, therefore, readily be supposed that subtraction may be used for any arithmetical purpose that can be accomplished by division; but an illustration will best show how this principle is applied in the case before us. The rule is as follows:—"Now the way of knowing the agreement or disagreement between two different quantities is, that the greater be diminished by the smaller quantity on both sides once, or oftener, until they agree in one point; and if they agree in unit only, there is no numerical agreement between them." Let us now take fifty-five and one hundred as the two numbers, and place them side by side, writing the others underneath as we go on; then, subtracting from side to side, we get—

Fifty-five..... One hundred.

Ten..... Forty-five.

Five.....	Thirty-five.
—	Twenty-five.
—	Fifteen.
—	Five.

The process is as follows:—Fifty-five from a hundred, forty-five; forty-five from fifty-five, ten; ten from forty-five, thirty-five; ten from thirty-five, twenty-five; ten from twenty-five, fifteen; ten from fifteen, five; five from ten, five. The numbers now “agree in a point,” five; and five is the greatest common measure, as may be seen from the European working:—

$$\begin{array}{r}
 55) 100 (1 \\
 \underline{55} \\
 45) 55 (1 \\
 \underline{45} \\
 10) 45 (4 \\
 \underline{40} \\
 5) 10 (2 \\
 \underline{10} \\
 \hline
 \end{array}$$

In dealing with a subject of some intricacy, which, as I have pointed out, can only be imperfectly explained in a mere paper like this, I have, I trust, brought forward sufficient evidence to show that Mahomedan Inheritance is a remarkable and, probably, unique system, possessing points of interest alike for the lawyer, the philosopher, and the mathematician. The circumstance that so complete and elegant a structure has long remained (as far as Western Europe is concerned) in comparative obscurity, is, probably, due to a variety of causes; in a great measure, no doubt, to the fact that the Courts in India are allowed to rely on Native law officers when questions of Native law arise.* This, however, is not in itself sufficient to account for the phenomenon; and I fear that something must be put down to the charge of the late Sir W. H. Macnaghten, or rather of those who have allowed themselves to look upon him as an unerring authority, instead of sifting out points of Native law for themselves. In Macnaghten’s “Principles of Mahomedan Law”

* I made this remark in ignorance of a circumstance of which I have been informed since by my friend, Mr. I. T. Prichard—viz., that the practice of having Native law officers attached to the Courts was abolished by an Act of 1864; see “Prichard’s Administration of India,” vol. ii., p. 150. This change, however, of course makes it even more important than before that Anglo-Indian judges and lawyers should themselves be conversant with Native law.

the portion allotted to Inheritance is so unintelligible—moreover, so blurred by errors and omissions—that the student is apt at once to imagine that the subject itself is unfathomable. The exaggerated reputation of Macnaghten has increased the evil; for, if the great apostle of Mahomedan and Hindu law could not understand the subject, or failed to make it intelligible, what could inferior mortals hope to do? I am happy to say that better times are beginning to dawn. Macnaghten's "Principles of Mahomedan and Hindu Law," combined in one volume, may be had for six shillings. The work comprises not only inheritance, but the whole range of both laws as administered in our Courts. In spite of this, a little book on Mahomedan Inheritance alone, published in London, in 1866, at the large price, in proportion, of 3s. 6d., has already reached a second edition, principally by its sale in India. It is known that the High Courts of India have, in some important instances, refused to be ruled by Macnaghten's *dicta*; and I am told that the great Court of Ultimate Appeal itself has, of late years, sometimes been known to listen with equanimity to the expression of doubts as to his infallibility. Let us hope, then, that truth will make its way, and that the rising generation of Anglo-Indian lawyers will refuse to be *fautores inepti* of one eminent man. I am far from wishing to deny that Macnaghten did good service in his time, but that he ever, in the least, understood the beautiful scheme of Mahomedan Inheritance, I cannot but entertain the very greatest doubt. A man may be learned, but yet not know everything; a man may err occasionally, but may yet be, as Macnaghten has been generally reckoned, a man of industry and ability. Had he lived to this time, I doubt not that much of his work would have been re-written by himself, for his preface shows that he at least laid no claim to have arrived at perfection. The vital fault has been in after-generations, who have been too ready to accept and recommend him as omniscient, and, lazily, to say "*ipse dixit*," instead of working out the law from the genuine authorities. The ice of indolence is beginning to break, the pent-up river longs to run more freely; and I trust, ere long, instead of a murky, half-frozen current, we shall see the pure stream of truth flowing, unswelled and unobstructed, from the original sources.

The CHAIRMAN, at the conclusion of the lecture, said before he called upon the audience to perform a duty which he was sure they would be heartily disposed to accept—viz., to give a vote of thanks to Mr. Almaric Rumsey for his very able lecture—he would, in accordance with the general rule of the East India Association, invite any lady or gentleman present to favour the meeting with any observations on the paper which they might feel disposed to make. Mr. Almaric Rumsey's paper was one upon a very difficult and ab-

struse point of Mahomedan and Indian Law, and it was a topic to which the general English public did not give their attention. At the same time it was a matter of vast importance to a large portion of the British Empire; and he could quite corroborate the strictures which Mr. Rumsey had passed regarding the serious errors which had been committed in some of the Courts of Justice in India, by following Macnaghten implicitly as an infallible guide. The members of the East India Association would remember with extreme pleasure a paper on the Administration of Hindu Law, which was read by the late Professor Goldstücker. That gentleman pointed out several important particulars in which the Courts of Law had gone astray in Hindu Law; and he justly ascribed it to the want of attention, and the absence of available means of reference to authorities to which reference had been made by Mr. Rumsey. Mr. Rumsey, it was well known, had given great attention, and had devoted considerable time, to this subject. The Chairman remarked he had been disappointed in one thing; he had hoped the learned Lecturer would give them a clear and intelligible description of that mysterious personage, the creation of Mahomedan Law, the "true grandmother."

Mr. JOHN COCHRANE said he might venture to state, although it was not strictly relevant to the question, that the learned Lecturer had favoured the public with a treatise upon Mahomedan Law which was the briefest and clearest and best that had yet been produced. And he could make no doubt that the essay Mr. Rumsey had just delivered would equally entitle him to the gratitude of the public, as elucidating subjects not only inherently difficult, but highly important to the interests of India. He was, therefore, quite sure he was in unison with the opinion of the meeting, in tendering his respectful thanks to Mr. Rumsey for the able lecture he had delivered, and also for the benefit he had conferred upon the public by the production of the work to which he had before alluded.

Mr. GEORGE CRAWSHAY said he agreed entirely with the sentiments which had been expressed by the previous speaker; but as there were many ladies present, and the topic was one of great interest at the present time, he would venture to ask the learned Lecturer a question, not upon the Law of Mahomedan Inheritance, but upon a collateral subject—namely, the position of a married woman's property under the Mahomedan Law. So far as his own limited knowledge on the matter was concerned, he was inclined to the opinion that the law regarding the property of a married woman was not so ungenerous in Mahomedan countries as in Christian countries, and

that in this respect the East was far more advanced than the West. He would be very glad if the Lecturer would give the meeting the benefit of his learning upon this interesting point.

Mr. WILLIAM BOTLY concurred in the eulogy which had been passed upon the lecture, which he thought evidenced rare learning upon a very difficult and uninviting subject. While listening to the remarks of the Lecturer, the thought had occurred to him that the sub-division of the property by the Law of Mahomedan Inheritance must sometimes be productive of considerable difficulty and disadvantage. Perhaps Mr. Almaric Rumsey would be good enough to explain how the law operated regarding landed estates, houses, and property of that kind. The extreme sub-division of land seemed to him to be likely to operate prejudicially in a country where it was the law. In France, where the principle was admitted, though not to the extent to which it appeared to be applied in Mahomedan countries, the law was productive of great inconvenience, for it sometimes caused a house to be divided among five, eight, or ten persons, and even a room to be apportioned among two or three.

SYED AMEER ALI said that as a Mahomedan he felt it his duty to thank the Lecturer for the high appreciation he had shown of the genius of the Mahomedan Law; and he would add that he had never heard a lecturer or speaker who had treated the topic with greater evidence of deep and appreciative respect for it. On the behalf of Mahomedans generally he begged to thank Mr. Almaric Rumsey for the excellent lecture he had delivered—a lecture which evinced profound learning in Mahomedan Law. As regards the points raised by Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Botly, he would not enlarge upon them, for doubtless Mr. Rumsey would be able to do so; and therefore he would simply thank him very heartily for his very valuable and learned paper.

Major OTTLEY said he coincided entirely with the previous speakers in the expression of great pleasure he had felt at Mr. Rumsey's lecture; for it was an augury that the time was not far distant when Mahomedanism and its laws would be better understood and appreciated. Perhaps the time would come when it would be discovered that Mahomedanism was not the crude religion that it was now commonly supposed; and it would then be seen that the creed and laws of Mahomedanism were not vastly different from those of Christianity itself.

Mr. ALMARIC RUMSEY said he was very much obliged for the kind and flattering observations which had been made by the speakers; and in reference to the question which had been asked by Mr.

Crawshay, he regretted that he could not speak with confidence without reference to his books; and with regard to the other questions, he was imperfectly qualified for dealing with them, owing to his never having visited the East, and seen the laws in operation. As to the Chairman's question regarding the true grandmother, he might explain that a true grandfather is a male ancestor between whom and the deceased no female intervenes. A true grandmother is a female ancestor between whom and the deceased no false grandfather intervenes. Although he was not willing to state positively his opinions respecting the Mahomedan laws affecting married women, he might venture to say that his impression was, that the woman's property does not become the property of her husband, as in England. One interesting point about ladies' property in Mahomedan countries is connected with the dower which is either given or promised by her husband at her marriage. When once promised, it is a debt on the man's estate; so that if it is not paid in his life-time it becomes a charge upon his estate with other debts, and before legacies. It thus answers, to a great extent, the same purpose as a deed of settlement in England. Even if the husband has promised a dower which is more than the value of his whole estate, the wife would have all his property, to the exclusion of legatees. As regards the operation of the Law of Inheritance, in the minute sub-division of property, he did not think it was likely to cause any inconvenience—at least, not so much as might appear at first sight. The enormous sub-division was more apparent than real; and even in the instances he adduced, some of which were merely hypothetical, there were comparatively few shares, though there were a great many figures. Another reason why the inconvenience of sub-division was not so much felt was to be found in the custom of living in joint families, so that the property frequently went a long time without being separated, and presented a condition of things something akin to the Highland Clan customs of the post-feudal period. Of course the question whether the sub-division of property was wise, was a very wide question, upon which it would be impossible to enter on the present occasion. Some contend that the English custom—entailing estates by settlements—is productive of great advantages; while others urge that the French system of dividing land among children is best. In conclusion, Mr. Rumsey reiterated his thanks for the courtesy with which he had been heard.

The CHAIRMAN said they were under an additional obligation to Mr. Rumsey for his explanation of the points which had been raised. He ought to mention, though perhaps it would be hardly necessary to do so, that Mr. Rumsey was the author of three extremely useful

little treatises upon the subject of Mahomedan and Hindu Inheritance, one of which was a re-publication, with notes, of the translation of the great authority on Mahomedan Inheritance, "Al Sirajiyah." One impression, at least, the audience would carry away with them, and that was, that the ideas usually entertained by Englishmen regarding the laws and customs of Eastern nations were not altogether correct. They were in the habit of regarding with considerable disfavour the very severe restrictions which were presumed to be imposed upon females in Eastern countries; whereas they would have learned from Mr. Rumsey that the Mahomedan Law of Inheritance took a much more liberal view, and much greater care of the property of females, than did the English Law. In conclusion, the Chairman proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

Mr. THAKUR seconded the motion, which was agreed to *nem. con.*, and acknowledged by the Lecturer.

Mr. BOTLY proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman, which was seconded by Mr. Rumsey; and agreed to, and the Chairman having briefly expressed his acknowledgments, the proceedings terminated.

IMPORTANT LETTER FROM THE MAHARAJAH HOLKAR.

The following gratifying communication has been addressed to the Honorary Secretary of the East India Association by his Highness the Maharajah Holkar:—

Indore Palace, Indore, Sept. 23, 1872.

Dear Sir,—I am desired by His Highness the Maharajah Holkar to inform you that he has been watching with much interest the proceedings of the East India Association, and that he believes that if the Association continues to work with the same sincerity and earnestness which have hitherto characterized its action, it gives great promise of proving itself useful in promoting the true interests of all the people and Princes of India.

His Highness has, therefore, much pleasure in contributing Rs.25,000 (twenty-five thousand) for its support; the amount to be invested, under a Trust-deed, in Government Promissory Notes, and the interest thereof, as it accrues due, to be paid to the Association as long as it lasts. His Highness has also desired me to say that if he found the Association continuing to work with benefit to India, he will be happy to render such further assistance as he thinks proper.

His Highness wishes to take this opportunity of tendering his thanks, as a Prince and a Native of India, to the President, Vice-Presidents, and Members, and all other noblemen and gentlemen who have shown such warm interest in the affairs of India by their co-operation with the Association.

His Highness feels much gratified at your own disinterested and patriotic exertions on behalf of India, and considers them very praiseworthy.

Her Gracious Majesty having assumed the direct government of India, and in order that India may derive the full benefit of her benign rule, it is of the utmost importance that the true state of India be correctly known by the public and Parliament of England, and His Highness looks to the East India Association to become an important instrument for accomplishing this object.

His Highness, together with the people of India, hopes that the Press of England, and all noblemen and gentlemen who wish well to the British Empire, will heartily co-operate in the great cause of making the British rule in India a just and beneficent one.

One great thing, among others, necessary for the welfare of India and the permanency of British rule, is frank, mutual confidence and earnest sympathy, and His Highness doubts not that a better knowledge in England of India's people and their wants will lead to this much-desired result.

India, like an orphan, needs all the kindness and generous sympathy Britain can give to it, standing now in the relation of a parent.

His Highness wishes the exertions of the Association God-speed.

I remain, yours faithfully,

(Signed in Marâthi)

RAMRAE NARAYAN, *Dewan*.

To Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq.,

Hon. Sec. E. I. Association.

JOURNAL
OF THE
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, July 17, 1872, at their Rooms, 20, Great George-street, Westminster; the Right Hon. Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., President of the Association, in the chair.

In opening the proceedings, the noble CHAIRMAN said he had great gratification in remarking that they met on this occasion under very favourable circumstances, and the report of the proceedings of the past year indicated that the Association had been placed on a sound and satisfactory financial basis, owing mainly to the great munificence of some of the Native chiefs of India. Thanks to the activity of their able Secretary, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the rulers of Kutch and Kattywar had liberally supported the Association—so liberally, as to release the Council from the anxiety which they naturally felt at the corresponding period of last year. At the same time, the work of the Association had been of great utility; a course of lectures of great ability had been delivered during the session, and the debates which followed had been of considerable importance, as increasing the knowledge of Indian affairs among the English people. No thanks could be too warm to the Native chiefs who had given these munificent donations; and he had no doubt that many other chiefs of other parts of India would be led to follow their example. The operations of the Association had been materially aided by the Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, who during the absence of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji in India had zealously and successfully acted as Hon. Secretary; and now that he was about to return to India, his place would be occupied by Capt. W. C. Palmer, who would, no doubt, be an efficient successor. He regretted to state that in the Houses of Parliament less attention even than usual had been paid to the affairs of India during the session just approaching its termination; and he was sorry he could not induce his Grace the Duke of Argyll to introduce the Indian

Budget in the House of Lords, where it could receive more leisurely attention, and where it could be brought forward at an earlier part of the session, and where also, as coming from the Secretary of State for India, it would have more weight and importance than as coming from Mr. Grant Duff, who was only Under-Secretary. In fact, at present the introduction of the Indian Budget in the House of Commons seemed to be a work of supererogation; a great deal was said and nothing done, and no vote was or could be taken. This had happened many years ago, when he brought the Indian Budget before the House of Commons; and then, as now, the Secretary addressed about a dozen gentlemen, half of whom probably considered the affair as not very interesting. This condition of things, unfortunate as it was admitted to be, was hardly likely to be remedied by the introduction of the Budget so late as the first week in August, when Parliament was beginning to separate. It was only fair to say, however, that much of the apparent inattention of members of the Houses to Indian affairs was due to the opinion that as India was prosperous and contented, no interference was called for. After expressing his readiness to introduce to Parliament any matter in which the Association was interested, his lordship concluded by moving the adoption of the Council's Report, which was laid before the meeting by Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, and which was as follows:—

ANNUAL REPORT, 1871-72.

Your Council beg to submit their Report for the year 1871-2, and in doing so they have to express their gratification at the great progress that has been made during the year towards placing the funds of the Association on a firm basis, through the liberal contributions of the following native Princes and Chieftains, who have handed over the sums opposite their names, to be invested in Government Securities, and the interest to be paid to the Association for varying terms:—

His Highness the Rao of Kutch, G.C.S.I., Rs.50,000 as long as the Association lasts.

His Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur, G.C.S.I., Rs.20,000 for 20 years

 " Nowanaghur 15,000 "

Mr. Crowishunkur..... 10,000 "

The Chief of Wadwan 5,000 "

 " Palithana 4,000 for 25 years.

 " Jusdan 1,000 for 20 years.

Total Rs.105,000

In addition to the above sum there has been an accession of eighty-

five life members, whose payments amount to Rs.12,750, making a total of Rs.117,750.

By the latest reports from India, your Honorary Secretary, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was engaged in arrangements for having these sums invested in trust to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. These and other donations will secure a permanent income of about £500 a-year, which, with the annual subscriptions and further expected donations, will enable the Council to meet a great part of the unavoidable expenses, and place them in a better position for efficiently promoting the objects for which the Association was established.

Suitable letters of acknowledgment have been sent to the liberal donors for their munificent contributions, and it is a significant fact that the donors and life members referred to above are Chieftains and residents in Native States.

These handsome gifts are a great encouragement to the Council, as they show an appreciation of their efforts, and it must be apparent to all that the Association can only be upheld by adequate support from the country to whose benefit its labours are exclusively devoted.

The energetic assistance given to the Association by the branch in Bombay, as shown in the Report of the Annual Meeting, encourages the Council to hope that similar support will be accorded from other parts of India.

The following is a list of subjects on which papers have been read, and a reference to the "Journal" published by the Association will show that the papers and the discussions thereon will, in their special department, compare favourably, in point of ability and public interest, with those of other societies :—

1871.

April 25.—WILLIAM TAYLER, Esq. "Popular Education in India."

June 9.—Sir BARTLE FRERE. "The Means of Ascertaining Public Opinion on Indian Affairs."

July 3.—Sir BARTLE FRERE. Adjourned Discussion. Ditto, ditto

July 19.—Sir BARTLE FRERE. Second Adjourned Discussion. Ditto.

1872.

March 12.—I. T. PRICHARD, Esq. "Representation of India in Parliament."

April 9.—I. T. PRICHARD, Esq. Adjourned Discussion. Ditto.

April 23.—HYDE CLARKE, Esq. "The Progressive Capabilities of the Races of India in Reference to Political and Industrial Development."

May 7.—R. H. ELLIOT, Esq. "What the True Interests of Manchester Really are in India."

May 21.—Dr. GEORGE BIRDWOOD. "Competition and the Indian Services."

June 18.—Major EVANS BELL. "Trust as the Basis of Imperial Policy."

July 9.—F. W. CHESSON, Esq. "The Best Means of Educating English Opinion on Indian Affairs."

The best thanks of the Council are due to the above-named gentlemen, and it is hoped that the valuable papers and discussions will have the effect of enlightening public opinion and drawing attention to the subjects embraced in them, thus exercising a beneficial influence on Indian affairs.

In a former report the Council congratulated the Association on the enactment of Clause 6 of 33 Vic., cap. 3, which empowers the Governor-General in Council to appoint deserving Natives to the ranks of the Covenanted Civil Service, without passing the prescribed competitive examination; but they regret to say this Act has, up to the present time, remained a dead-letter, and that the Viceroy has not yet published the rules required by the clause.

This delay is the more to be deprecated, inasmuch as the nine annual scholarships which had previously been granted by Government to enable Native youths of promise to come to England for education, were abolished on the passing of that Act, and thus, under the guise and semblance of a boon, the scholarships are discontinued, and, by the unaccountable delay of the authorities, the advantages secured by the Act of Parliament are rendered nugatory.

Sir Charles Wingfield, the Vice-Chairman of the Council, put questions to the Under-Secretary of State, both last year and again during the present session, in the hope of eliciting some satisfactory information; but the only reply vouchsafed to his inquiries was that the India Office had not heard from the Supreme Government of India on the subject. It is feared that there is too much pressure on the time of the House this session to admit of anything being done in the matter by Parliament, but it is believed that advantage will be taken of the introduction of the Indian Budget to call attention once more to the matter, and the Council hope that neither the India Office nor Parliament will allow a longer continuance of the injurious effects that must be produced in India by allowing such an important clause in an Act of Parliament to remain a dead-letter.

The Parliamentary Committee appointed to inquire into the finances of India, referred to in the last report, was re-appointed this session, and is still sitting; important evidence is being elicited, and the Council fully expect that the inquiry will lead to important results, and that the

Committee will see their way to make recommendations which will lead to greater economy in the administration of Indian finances.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji drew up an important paper on the subject of the inquiry, and submitted it to the members of the Committee, and other influential persons, on the eve of his departure for India, and he is now engaged in collecting information in that country with a view of placing it before the Committee on his return.

The Council would congratulate the Association on the success which has attended their efforts to obtain a remedy for the evil brought prominently to notice by Mr. W. Tayer in his able paper on the "Delay of Justice to Indian Appellants in England."

It will be remembered that after and consequent on the discussion of that paper, the Council presented a memorial to the Duke of Argyll on the subject. A Bill was subsequently brought into Parliament to reconstitute the Appellate Courts of the country, and the Government have since greatly strengthened the Court of Appeal, which now holds permanent sittings, and the arrears are being gradually reduced.

In accordance with the resolution passed at the meeting held on the 28th March, that the Government should be pressed to adopt measures to carry out the scheme for a ship canal between India and Ceylon, ably advocated by Sir James Elphinstone, Bart., an influential deputation waited on the Secretary of State for India and presented a memorial prepared by the Council, urging the importance of the work, which, if carried into execution, would shorten the distance between England and Eastern India by 360 miles, and secure a safe and commodious harbour for large ships and steamers. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Eastwick, M.P., and the views of the Association were advocated by Sir James Elphinstone, Bart., M.P., Mr. J. B. Smith, M.P., Mr. Hugh Birley, M.P., General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., and other members for the Association.

The Duke of Argyll, in reply, acknowledged the importance of the work, the risk and cost of which he said should be shared by the Indian and Colonial Governments.

Attention having been thus prominently called to the project, Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of Ceylon, and Mr. Townsend, C.E., have visited the site and expressed their astonishment that a ship canal had not long ago been cut through Paumben. Commander A. Dundas Taylor, F.R.G.S., and Mr. Robertson, an eminent harbour engineer, have also reported favourably on the project, and elaborate surveys of the channel have been sent home. When the Indian and Colonial Governments have decided on the proportion of the expense to be borne by each, it is hoped the important project will be carried out.

The assassination of the late Viceroy of India was felt by the Council to be a national calamity, and they recorded their feelings in the accompanying letter to Lady Mayo, which, it will be seen by the subjoined reply, was gracefully acknowledged:—

“20, Great George Street, Westminster, April 12, 1872.

“Madam,—Being profoundly impressed by the sad intelligence of Lord Mayo's assassination, and sympathizing most deeply with your Ladyship in your present bereavement, we, the undersigned, on behalf of the East India Association, are desirous of offering to your Ladyship sincere condolence on the mournful event.

“To expatiate on the deceased nobleman's many virtues would be superfluous and perhaps inappropriate, but we may, as a body associated for the support and furtherance of Indian interests, not unfitly express the sincere admiration and heartfelt respect with which the energy and untiring devotion exhibited in the Viceroy's administration of the Government of India, has inspired our minds.

“It will have been some consolation to your Ladyship in the darkest hour of your grief to remember that, although struck down by the hand of an assassin, Her Majesty's Viceroy died as noble men would ever seek to die—in the active service of his country; and it will, we trust, be a further comfort, as time wears on, to look back upon the universal testimony borne both in India and England to the high qualities, exalted character, and unspotted fame of your revered husband.—We are, Madam, your obedient Servants,

“LYVEDEN, President of the East India Association.

“E. B. EASTWICK, Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.

“C. J. WINGFIELD, Vice-Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.

“The Countess of Mayo, &c., &c.,

“Palmerston House, Straffan, County of Kildare, Ireland.”

Copy of Reply.

“2, Grosvenor Gate, May 8, 1872.

“My Lord and Gentlemen,—I am commissioned by Lady Mayo to thank you most sincerely for your kind and touching address.

“She is most grateful to the members of the East India Association for recollecting her in these days of sorrow and affliction.

“She prays God that your exertions for the benefit of India may further the great object for which her beloved husband laboured—the improvement and happiness of our Indian fellow-subjects.—I remain, your obedient Servant,

“ROBERT BOURKE.

“The President and Council of the East India Association.”

The Council record with deep regret the loss of two valued members and colleagues, who ever took an active interest in the work of the Association—Professor Goldstücker and Col. W. H. Sykes, M.P., F.R.S.

Dr. Goldstücker's loss will be felt not only by the Association, of which he was one of the most zealous and useful members, but by literary circles in England, on the Continent, and in India, where his researches in the literature, languages, and history of ancient India were fully appreciated.

Colonel Sykes's knowledge of India, unflagging zeal in promoting its best interests both in and out of Parliament, his honesty of purpose, vigour, and energy as a public man, earned the respect of the Council of the East India Association, and of all who were associated with him in public and private life.

The Council return their best thanks to the donors of books, the proprietors of those newspapers and periodicals which are supplied gratis, and especially to the India Office, from whence numerous publications and some of the Government Gazettes published in India are received and information is readily afforded.

The following Members of Council have been elected during the year :—

John Dickinson, Esq., in place of—

C. P. Lutchmeepathy, returned to India.

Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., ditto—

Dr. Goldstücker, deceased.

John Bruce Norton, Esq., ditto—

Col. H. J. W. Jervis, M.P.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation. The Council recommend their re-election: P. P. Gordon, Esq., R. N. Fowler, Esq., M.P., S. P. Low, Esq., Major-General Sir R. Wallace, K.C.S.I., Major-General Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., Field-Marshal Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Major-General Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.S.I., Major-General E. W. S. Scott.

The accounts have been examined and audited as provided by the rules.

The Honorary Secretary, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has taken advantage of his visit to India to make arrangements for placing the Branch at Bombay on a satisfactory and efficient footing, and he has done good service by making the objects of the Association more widely known in that country. The Council have recorded their appreciation of his labours in the following minute :—

“Resolved, That the best thanks of the Council be conveyed to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji for his exertions on behalf of the Association, which

“is indebted to him, not only for the pecuniary support he has been able
“to obtain for it in Kutch and Kattywar, but for other assistance, which
“he has at all times and in the most critical circumstances rendered to the
“Association, and without which it would have been almost impossible to
“carry on its work for the last two years.

“The Council trust that these patriotic endeavours of their colleague
“and Secretary will be rewarded by the Association becoming what it is
“intended to be—viz., an efficient and permanent source of good to
“India and England.

“The Council desire to leave it to the discretion of Mr. Dadabhai
“Naoroji to make such arrangements as he may deem requisite to secure
“to the Association the full benefit of the pecuniary assistance he has
“obtained in Kutch and Kattywar.

“The Council notice with gratification the large accession to the list
“of life members which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has been able to secure.
“The gentlemen who have signified their intention to become life
“members may be elected in Bombay or here, as Mr. Dadabhai may
“wish.”

The Report of the Bombay Branch of the Association will be circulated on receipt.

During Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's absence, the Dewan Kazi Shahabudin has kindly and efficiently acted as Honorary Secretary, and on his approaching return to India, to resume there his duties as Dewan to his Highness the Rao of Kutch, the Council recorded the following minute :
“The Council accept with regret the resignation of Kazi Shahabudin of
“the post of Acting Honorary Secretary, which he has held since April,
“1871, and tender to him their best thanks for the valuable services he
“has rendered to the Association during his tenure of the office.”

Captain William C. Palmer, late of the Madras Staff Corps, has been requested to act as Honorary Secretary until the return of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.

Mr. Zorn having returned from the Continent, has been reinstated in his former position of Accountant and Assistant-Secretary.

SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID from MAY 1, 1871, to APRIL 30, 1872.

Date.	RESIDENT MEMBERS (l. for Life Members).		£	s.	d.
1871.		For			
May 3.—	Dr. C. E. Raddock.....	1871	1	5	0
„ „	—H. B. Samuelson, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—William Markby, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	4.—H. B. Riddell, Esq.	1870-71	2	10	0
„ „	—Rakbal Chunder Roy, Esq.	1871	1	5	0
„ „	6.—H. Lee Smith, Esq.	„	1	5	0
• „ „	15.—Nuzzer M. Futchally, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—Abbas S. Tyabjee, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	26.—Right Hon. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.B., G.C.S.I.,				
	P.C.	„	1	5	0
June 15—	T. D. Forsyth, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	16.—C. Forjett, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	28.—G. Appleton, Esq.	„	1	5	0
July 1.—	Major-Gen. Sir G. Le Grand Jacob, C.B.,				
	K.C.S.I.	1870-71	2	10	0
„ „	3.—R. C. Saunders, Esq.	1871	1	5	0
„ „	—Sir C. Wingfield, K.C.S.I., C.B., M.P. ..	„	1	5	0
„ „	4.—J. T. Prichard, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—Charles Jay, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—S. P. Low, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—J. Matthews, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	5.—General J. Briggs	1870-71	2	10	0
„ „	—John Knott, Esq.	1871	1	5	0
„ „	—Sir C. W. Dilke, Bart., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.S.I., C.B.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ „	—Field-Marshal Sir G. Pollock, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. „	„	1	5	0
„ „	—Anderjee Cowasjee, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	6.—Sir T. E. Colebrooke, Bart., M.P.	„	1	15	0
„ „	8.—T. Horsman Coles, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	10.—Syed Ameer Ali, Esq., M.A.	„	1	5	0
„ „	12.—(l.) General R. J. Shaw (Journal).....	„	0	5	0
„ „	—(l.) Colonel J. S. North, M.P. (Journal)..	1870-71	0	10	0
„ „	24.—Thomas Taylor, Esq.	„	2	2	0
„ „	24.—(l.) Right Hon. Captain Lord John Hay,				
	R.N., C.B., M.P. (Journal)	1867-71	1	5	0
„ „	28.—Sir J. Ranald Martin, C.B.	1871	1	5	0
„ „	—George Turnbull, Esq.	„	1	5	0
Aug. 3.—	Professor T. Hewitt Key.....	„	1	5	0
„ „	8.—A. Graham, Esq., M.D.	„	1	6	0
„ „	—Emerson Dawson, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	9.—A. C. Scott, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „	17.—Thomas L. Wilson, Esq.	1870-71	2	10	0

Carried over £54 13 0

Date.	For	£ s. d.
	Brought forward	54 13 0
Aug. 25.—W. P. Adam, Esq., M.P.	End of 1871	1 5 0
Sept. 26.—Sir Cecil Beadon, K.C.S.I.	1871	1 5 0
„ „ —P. Ryan, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ 20.—Professor C. Cassal, LL.D.	1870-71	2 10 0
Oct. 5.—Right Hon. Earl of Ellenborough	1869-71	3 15 0
„ 7.—Lord F. C. Cavendish, M.P.	1871	1 5 0
„ 14.—Dr. D. H. Small	„	1 0 0
„ 17.—Colonel W. Nassau Lees	1869-71	3 15 0
„ 27.—Theodore Thomas, Esq., Lucknow	1872	1 1 0
„ 31.—W. T. M'Cullagh Torrens, Esq., M.P. ...	1871	1 5 0
Nov. 6.—Alfred Nundy, Esq.	1872	1 5 0
„ 8.—Colonel E. Hemery, R.E.	1871	1 5 0
Dec 13.—Mirza Peer Bukhsh, Esq.	1869-71	3 15 0
1872.		
Jan. 1.—Colonel E. Hemery, R.E.	1872	1 5 0
„ „ —R. Vicars Boyle, Esq., C.S.I.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —General J. F. Bird	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Captain R. A. Chadwick	„	1 5 0
„ „ —General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., R.E.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Major-Gen. Sir Vincent Eyre, C.B., K.S.I., R.A.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Captain W. C. Palmer	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Captain A. Phelps	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Gen. W. Richardson	„	1 5 0
„ „ —General N. B. Thoyts	„	1 0 0
„ „ —General C. D. Wilkinson } „ „ —W. L. Wilkinson, Esq. }	„	2 5 0
„ „ —F. F. Courtenay, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Right Hon. Lord Strathnairn, P.C.I.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —J. T. Wood, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —J. Pelle, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Major-Gen. Sir G. Balfour, K.C.B., R.A.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —The Rt. Hon. Lord Harris, G.C.S.I.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Lieut.-Colonel C. Mackenzie	„	1 5 0
„ „ —General J. D. Macpherson	„	1 0 0
„ „ —Wm. Markby, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —H. B. Samuelson, Esq., M.P.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —W. M'Cullagh Torrens, Esq., M.P.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —G. G. Macpherson, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —T. Taylor, Esq., Tetsworth	„	1 5 0
„ 2.—Right Hon. Lord R. de A. Grosvenor, M.P.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Sir C. E. Trevelyan, K.C.B.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —The Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, P.C.	„	1 0 0
„ „ —W. Tayler, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Dr. A. H. Leith	„	1 5 0
„ „ —S. V. Morgan, Esq.	„	1 5 0
„ „ —Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French	„	1 5 0
Carried over		£118 4 0

Date.	For	£	s.	d.
Brought forward		118	4	0
Jan. 3.—The Right Hon. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., P.C.	1872	1	5	0
„ 3.—C. Dale, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ — J. H. Batten, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 4.—Juland Danvers, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —G. Foggo, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 8.—John Pender, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ 10.—H. D. Seymour, Esq.	1867-71	6	5	0
„ 11.—J. F. Hore, Esq.	1872	1	5	0
„ 13.—S. S. Dickinson, Esq., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.	„	1	5	0
„ 17.—Major-General E. W. S. Scott.....	„	1	5	0
„ 29.—Hafiz Ahmad Hasan, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Mahomed Hickmatullah, Esq.....	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Syed Jaaffer Hosain, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 31.—(L.) W. D. Fox, Esq. (Journal)	1871-72	0	10	0
Feb. 8.—W. H. Crawford, Esq.	1872	1	0	0
„ 13.—Major F. Brine	„	1	5	0
„ 17.—James Hutton, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 19.—P. B. Smollett, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —C. Horne, Esq.	„	1	5	0
Mar. 15.—T. N. Vencatasoboo Moodaliar, Esq. ...	„	1	5	0
Do., on account of Books he intends to buy from Association....	„	0	15	0
April 4.—John Jones, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 6.—Sir J. Ranald Martin, C.B.	„	1	5	0
„ 8.—Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.S.I., C.B.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —General John Briggs	1871-72	2	10	0
„ 9.—G. Noble Taylor, Esq.	1872	1	5	0
„ „ —Major Evans Bell	1871-72	2	10	0
„ „ —David Nasmith, Esq.	„	2	10	0
„ 10.—H. W. Freeland, Esq.	1872	1	5	0
„ „ —(L.) W. P. Andrew, Esq. (Journal).....	1871-72	0	10	0
„ 11.—(L.) General R. J. Shaw (Journal)	1872	0	5	0
„ 15.—Abbas S. Tyabjee, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Nuzzer Mahomed Futchally, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 19.—Fred. Wm. Chesson, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 22.—Anderjee Cowasjee, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Lieut.-General Sir John Low, K.C.B.....	„	1	5	0
„ „ —Thomas L. Wilson, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 23.—Rakbal Chunder Roy, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 24.—John Alfred Gibbons, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ „ —George Turnbull, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 25.—(L.) W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq. (Journal) ...	„	0	5	0
„ 26.—R. C. Saunders, Esq.	„	1	5	0
„ 29.—Lord William Hay	1870-72	3	15	0
		£180	4	0

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF THE ACCOUNTS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

CASH ACCOUNT, from May 1, 1871, to April 30, 1872.

RECEIPTS.		DISBURSEMENTS.	
DR.		CR.	
1871.		£ s. d.	£ s. d.
May 1.	—To BALANCES AT BANKERS'—viz.: Messrs. Grindlay & Co., General Account Do. Library Fund .. London and Westminster Bank	307 2 5 7 4 0 30 12 3	18 15 11
" 11.	—To PROCEEDS OF SALE OF GOVERNMENT NOTES; Of Rupees 4,000, re-invested as per contra	344 18 8	430 8 3
Oct. 30.	—To DADABHAI NAOROJI:	431 8 3	
1872.	Remitted by him from India, Rupees 1,500		
April 30.	—To MEMBERS AND DONORS: Received from Members in England (as per List) since May 1, 1871	144 2 9 180 4 0	
			587 17 3
			63 12 3
			£1,100 13 8

BALANCE SHEET, End of April, 1872.

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
National Bank of India (Limited): Fixed Deposit Account				430	8	3
Furniture and Fixtures—London	130	0	0			
do. Bombay	15	0	0			
Library Account				145	0	0
Local Outstanding for Advertisements, &c.				30	0	0
Grindlay & Co.: Balance of Bank Account				38	11	5
				63	12	5
				<hr/>		
				£707	11	11

Examined with Ledger and Vouchers, and found correct.

P. M. TAIT, }
H. R. SHROFF. } *Auditors.*

JOHN T. ZORN, *Accountant.*
KAZI SHAHABUDIN, *Acting Honorary Secretary.*

The report having been adopted *nem. con.*,

Mr. E. B. EASTWICK, C.B., M.P., moved that the Right Hon. the Lord Lyveden, G.C.B., be re-elected President for the ensuing year, and in doing so remarked they were all aware of the distinguished part his lordship had taken in the affairs of India in the Lower House in former years, and how constantly he attended to the interests of India now in the Upper House. But for the influence and the reputation of his lordship he was quite sure the Association would not have been able to go on so successfully; and he was equally assured that no member of the Association would desire to change the holder of the office of President.

Mr. I. T. PRICHARD seconded the resolution, remarking that it was unnecessary for him to say anything in support of it, except merely as a matter of form. Everything, however, which Mr. Eastwick had said regarding his lordship he thoroughly endorsed; and he was quite sure that if they looked through the Lords and the House of Commons, they would find no one more fitted to occupy the office of President of the Association than the Right Hon. the Lord Lyveden.

The motion was then carried unanimously, and the noble Chairman, in acknowledgment, expressed his sense of the honour conferred upon him, and assured the members of the Association that anything he could do in furthering its progress he would be happy to perform.

Mr. W. S. FITZWILLIAM moved that the following Princes, noblemen, and gentlemen be elected Vice-Presidents for the ensuing year:—

The Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, P.C., M.A., F.R.S., M.R.A.S.	Lord Wm. Montagu Hay, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Shaftesbury, K.G., F.R.A.S., F.S.S., &c.	Sir James Fergusson, Bart., Governor of South Australia, P.C.
Right Hon. James Stausfeld, P.C., M.P.	Sir Charles Edward Trevelyan, K.C.B., F.R.G.S., &c.
The Right Hon. Lord Harris, G.C.S.I.	His Highness the Rao of Kutch, G.C.S.I.
General Lord Strathnairn, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Member of H.M.'s Most Honourable Privy Council of Ireland.	His Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur, K.C.S.I.
General Right Hon. Lord Sandhurst, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., P.C.	

Mr. Fitzwilliam observed that no words were necessary to support this election, because the names were all those of public men whose reputation and whose interest in the affairs of India were well known.

Mr. WILLIAM TAYLER seconded the motion, and added that the list was beyond impeachment so far as names and reputation were concerned, and he was certain they could not make a better selection. But although these noblemen and gentlemen whose names graced the list lent distinction and influence to the Association by their names, yet it was much to be wished that they would also contrive to give more personal attention to the work of the Association.

The motion was then agreed to *nem. con.*

Major-General Sir LE GRAND JACOB moved that the following noblemen and gentlemen be elected to form a Council for the ensuing year :—

Chairman—E. B. Eastwick, Esq., C.B., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

Vice-Chairman—Sir Charles John Wingfield, K.C.S.I., C.B., M.P., &c.

Moulvi Syed Ameer Ali, M.A., LL.B.

Major Thomas Evans Bell, M.R.A.S.

Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Hon. Sec.

Christopher B. Denison, Esq., M.P.

John Dickinson, Esq., F.R.A.S.,

F.R.G.S.

Lord Walter Henry Erskine.

Major-Gen. Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I.,

C.B., R.A., F.R.G.S., &c.

W. S. Fitzwilliam, Esq., F.R.G.S.,

F.S.S.

R. N. Fowler, Esq., M.P., M.A.,

F.R.G.S.

William Fowler, Esq., M.P., F.S.S.

Lieut. Colonel Pat. Theo. French.

Patrick Pirie Gordon, Esq., J.P., M.A.

S. Grove Grady, Esq., F.R.S.L., Re-

corider of Gravesend, Reader on Hindu Law, &c.

Lord Wm. Montagu Hay, F.R.G.S.,

M.R.A.S.

Jamsetji Jivanji Gazdar, Esq., M.A.

Khan Bahadoor Kazi Shahabudin,
Dewan of H.H. the Rao of Kutch.

Baloo Kishori Mohuh Chatterjee,
LL.B., B.A.

John Farley Leith, Esq., M.P.

Stephen P. Low, Esq., F.R.G.S.

John Bruce Norton, Esq.

Captain William Charles Palmer.

Field-Marshal Sir G. Pollock, G.C.B.,

G.C.S.I., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

Major-General Sir Henry C. Rawlinson,

K.C.S.I., K.C.B., LL.D., D.C.L.,

F.R.S., V.P.R.G.S., V.P.R.S.L., Ord.

Boruss. "Pour le Mérite" Eq., &c.

I. T. Prichard, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.S.S.

Major-Gen. Edw. Wm. S. Scott, R.A.

P. M. Tait, Esq., F.R.G.S., F.S.S.

William Tayler, Esq., Retired B.C.S.

Major-General Sir R. Wallace, K.C.S.I.

Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.

Sir F. M. Williams, Bart., M.P., F.G.S.,

F.A.S.L., &c.

In moving this resolution, which he had been requested to do as one unconnected with the Council but taking an interest in the welfare of the Association, the gallant speaker observed that the list contained many excellent names—especially the Chairman and Vice-Chairman—men of capacity and knowledge of public affairs, who gave much of their time to advance the interests of India, and who took a great and active interest in the progress of the East India Association. There were also upon the list some who appeared to take little practical interest in its proceedings; he would therefore recommend the Council to ascertain from nominees whether they felt disposed to accept office, and if so, they might reasonably be expected to occasionally give the Association the advantage of their weight and experience by personally attending its meetings, and in other ways.

Mr. S. B. THAKUR, in seconding the resolution, said he observed with pleasure the names of several of his countrymen on the list, and he hoped that they would be able to do as good service to the Association as the English part of the Council.

The motion was then carried unanimously.

Mr. E. B. EASTWICK, M.P., in acknowledging the vote just passed, said he was very sensible of the honour they had conferred upon him, for which he expressed his thanks, as well as the thanks of the other

members of the Council. He confessed he felt that some of the Council had not been so regular in attendance as they could wish during the past year, but several of them were members of Parliament, and the sittings of the House, and the repeated divisions, enforced their attendance at St. Stephen's very often when they would really have been glad to take part in the work of the Association. Speaking for himself, he knew that he had been repeatedly prevented from attending; but, on the other hand, he could say with satisfaction that he had never been absent from the House of Commons when business affecting India was on the paper; and in doing this, he apprehended he was performing a duty as important to the Association as if he had attended their meetings. The noble Chairman had remarked on the small attention given by Parliament to Indian affairs during the session now drawing to a close, but one reason for that was to be found in the fact that a Committee on the Finances of India was sitting; and hence, when any Indian question came up, it was rather the feeling of those in authority that as the Committee was sitting they would relieve themselves of all the trouble and anxiety by handing it over to the Committee. That Committee had been sitting so long, and they found their task so gigantic, that some of the members began to fear the inquiry would last the term of their natural lives. But he was not without hope that by the end of the next year the Indian Finance Committee would be able to make a report which would show that their labours had not been without value.

The noble CHAIRMAN then moved: "That the special thanks of this meeting be accorded to the Princes and Chiefs named in the Report, for their munificent contributions; and this meeting expresses its gratification at finding the objects of the Association appreciated and seconded by so many Heads of Native States." His Lordship pointed out that the main object of the East India Association was to excite the interest of the English people in the affairs of India, and while they had been to some extent successful in this particular, it was exceedingly gratifying to find, on the other side, that the Chiefs of India were becoming interested in the work of the Association, and were giving magnificent contributions in support of it. This movement on the part of the Native Princes was of the utmost importance, because it was in the highest degree calculated to induce sympathy and respect for them in England. *En passant*, he might say that they were much obliged to Mr. Eastwick for his information respecting the Indian Finance Committee, for, owing to the representations of some of the newspapers, it had been thought that that Committee had fallen into a state of apathy or stupor. In conclusion, his Lordship expressed a hope that next year the Council would be enabled to report other Native Princes as having contributed to the funds of the Association.

Mr. EASTWICK, M.P., seconded the resolution, and remarked that it was a singular coincidence that his first political employment in India was amongst the Princes who had now given such magnificent aid to the Association. It was in 1837 that he was in Kattywar, acting for an officer whose reputation was far greater than his own, and who had rendered distinguished service in India—General Sir Le Grand Jacob—with whose presence they were honoured on the present occasion. And even at that time he felt bound to say that among the Chiefs of Kattywar and Kutch he always found an intelligent interest in the general welfare of India; indeed, the then Rao of Kutch—father of the present Prince—was one of the foremost of the Princes of India in this respect. The support of these Princes to the East India Association had come at a most critical time, and he hoped they would be able to gather the fruit from the tree which they had aided in planting.

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

Mr. EASTWICK, M.P., said he had great pleasure in moving the following resolution: "That this Association records its special thanks to "its Honorary Secretary, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, for his unceasing and "most self-sacrificing patriotic efforts in furthering the objects of the "Association, and particularly in endeavouring to place its finances on "a permanent and solid footing." The circumstances under which this motion was drawn up were referred to in the Report of the Council; and in respect to the Council's remarks regarding the Covenanted Civil Service, he could not help thinking that in Mr. Dadabhai they had a gentleman who would have reflected honour on the Indian Government, had he been in their service. Indeed, he could honestly say that he had never met a man who showed greater ability and more pure love of his country than Mr. Dadabhai, and no mere words could express the debt under which the Association laboured in regard to his generous efforts to enlarge and strengthen its basis. The work which Mr. Dadabhai had undertaken was most absolutely disinterested, and he gave his valuable time—which to a clever man is gold—and therefore the Association were simply doing their mere duty in acknowledging his great services. When Mr. Dadabhai returned, he hoped they would give him a warm welcome, and he trusted that he would bring news of interest in India with respect to the East India Association.

Mr. FITZWILLIAM, in seconding the resolution, called attention to the devotion and energy which Mr. Dadabhai had shown, both in India and England, as Honorary Secretary of the Association, in promoting the general interests of the people of India, and in which he had been so eminently successful.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The noble CHAIRMAN then proposed the following resolution:

"That the cordial thanks of the Association be expressed to its late Acting Honorary Secretary, the Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, for the zealous discharge of the duties devolving upon him during his occupancy of that post, and that he be requested to accept at the hands of this meeting, in acknowledgment of their appreciation of his generous services, the accompanying piece of plate." The presentation consisted of a massive silver salver, bearing an appropriate inscription. In handing this to the Dewan, his Lordship observed that it was a slight testimony of the very honourable and efficient assistance which he had given to the Association.

Mr. W. TAYLER said he could second the resolution with the utmost satisfaction, for it would be difficult to express sufficiently the value of the services which had been rendered by the Dewan Kazi Shahabudin, particularly in the absence of Mr. Dadabhai. The efficiency with which he had performed the duties of Honorary Secretary had prevented them from feeling the loss of Mr. Dadabhai so much as they would otherwise have done. To English gentlemen interested in the welfare of India, it was highly gratifying to see the efficiency and intelligence with which the two Native gentlemen had carried on the work.

General Sir LE GRAND JACOB said he would not give a silent vote on this motion, for he had known his friend Kazi Shahabudin since he was a young boy who arrested his attention by his intelligence in the Government school of the Principality of which he (the speaker) was Political Superintendent, and where the Dewan's family, one of high respectability, had held the hereditary office of Kazi* for many generations. Taking an interest in the lad, he secured his entrance into the Poona College, where he studied with distinction and received high testimonials, whereupon he gave him a small appointment in the Kutch Agency, and from this the young man soon rose to be Head Clerk. His talents next caused his promotion to the Revenue branch, and before long he was made Deputy Collector, with the title of Khan Bahadur. Being well acquainted with Kutch, the Political Agent obtained the Government sanction to the loan of his services to that province, where he did good work in the reform of the administration. In all this he ingratiated himself alike with the Political Agent, King, and people, so that his Highness the Rao was led to secure his permanent services as Dewan,† for which he had to resign his situation under our Government. Throughout his career Kazi Shahabudin had always borne himself well, and retained the confidence of his superiors; it was therefore no matter of surprise that in his office of Hon. Sec. of this Association

* Judge.

† Prime Minister.

he had acquitted himself with credit, for he had done that in everything he undertook.

The resolution having been carried *nem. con.*,

The DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN, in expressing his thanks for the vote, and for the gift which accompanied it, said he thanked them very much for the very flattering way in which they had spoken of his humble services. He gratefully accepted the testimonial, not because he was conscious he deserved it, but because it would serve to indicate to himself that he had gained the esteem of those with whom he had been associated in the East India Association—an acquisition of which he should always feel proud. With regard to what his friend Sir Le Grand Jacob had said, he would only observe, that he was chiefly indebted to the gallant General himself for the good things which had fallen to his lot.

The DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN then moved the following resolution :
“ That the best thanks of this Association be accorded to the proprietors of “ newspapers, both English and vernacular, which are supplied gratis to “ the reading-room of the Association.” He observed, that newspapers in general, and Indian papers in particular, were indispensable for the reading-room of an association like this ; and he was happy to say that this requirement was to a great extent supplied. He held in his hand a list of fourteen papers which were supplied gratis from India. In this fact the meeting would see that the importance of the Association was recognized by the press in India. Had they been compelled to buy all these papers, the speaker would not regret so much the expense, as the want of sympathy and co-operation on the part of the Indian Press, whose functions were in many respects analogous to the functions of this Association—viz., the diffusion of information about India, and the discussion of questions affecting its interests.

Mr. PRICHARD, who rose to second this resolution, thought it a matter of regret that so small a section of the Indian Press lent their support to the Association, as it was well calculated to become the central point in England where every kind of intelligence regarding India could be obtained, and where files of the Indian newspapers could be kept.

The noble CHAIRMAN said the papers already sent to the Association were a most valuable acquisition, and the Council were very grateful to the proprietors for their thoughtfulness.

After some further conversation, the resolution was adopted.

On the motion of the DEWAN KAZI SHAHABUDIN, seconded by Mr. TAYLER, after some conversation in which Mr. R. C. SAUNDERS, Mr. OUCHTERLONY, Mr. PRICHARD, Mr. GRADY, and others took part, it was

agreed to so amend Article XI. of the Rules as to empower the Council to increase their number to thirty-five, should they deem it desirable.

MR. STANDISH GROVE GRADY moved a vote of thanks to the Right Hon. the noble Chairman, Lord Lyveden, and said that he had much pleasure and gratification in having the honour to move this resolution; feelings in which, he was quite sure, he would be most heartily and earnestly joined by this meeting, and by all who took an interest in the progress and welfare of our Indian territories and the vast population scattered over them. Lord Lyveden's valuable services for many years in the interests of India, both in the House of Commons and the House of Peers, were too well known to require comment from him (the speaker), and as evidence that that interest had not abated, if indeed there could be a doubt upon the subject, he had only to allude to the fact that his Lordship had condescended to preside over their proceedings that day—a circumstance which also evinced the deep sympathy which the noble Chairman felt for the people of India, and his desire to promote the welfare of the East India Association and the good work in which it was engaged and to which it was devoted. He was certain that the motion which he had the honour to move would meet with the hearty and unanimous vote of this meeting.

MR. W. TAYLER said the vote he was seconding was no mere idle and unmeaning form of words, for they all felt the value which his Lordship's name gave to the Association; and though unwilling to draw what Mrs. Malprop called "odorous comparisons," he could not help saying that, unlike the other high and titled individuals whose names appeared on the list of Vice-Presidents, Lord Lyveden, in spite of his other duties, the attractions of society, and the demands of public life, actually did take a substantive part in the proceedings of the Association. As for the others, at present he could not go so far as to say that they were *vox et preterea nihil*, for we never heard their voices; and their names were only *nominis umbra*. He most cordially endorsed all that had been said regarding the efficacy and importance of the noble Chairman's support, and heartily seconded the vote of thanks as pre-eminently merited.

The resolution having been adopted,

The noble CHAIRMAN, in returning thanks, observed that he should always be ready to do what he could to advance the interests of the Association and the Natives of India. He had spent the greater part of his life in the service of Her Majesty's Indian Government, and now—as they would have learned from the morning journals—that Royal Lady had been graciously pleased to decorate him with the Grand Cross of the Bath, which he confessed he felt as an auspicious coincidence and very pleasant reminiscence of that day.

The proceedings then terminated.

BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting of the Bombay Branch of the East India Association was held on Wednesday, July 12, 1871, at the Framjee Cowasjee Institute; Dr. Bhau Daji, Vice-Chairman, in the chair.

THE CHAIRMAN, in opening the proceedings, said: It is now nearly two years since the Bombay Branch was established for the purpose of supporting the East India Association in London. During this time the parent institution has taken a permanent position and acquired great influence. It is, in fact, becoming the recognized mouth-piece, before the English public and the English Legislature, of Indian public opinion other than what is represented by official minutes and official reports. Some of the most notable of Indian statesmen are now assisting it with their active help and advice, such as Sir Charles Wingfield, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Sir Bartle Frere, Mr. Eastwick, and others. Before its full utility can be realized, however, it is necessary that it should have the co-operation of branches throughout India. The first years of the Bombay Branch must necessarily be full of tentative efforts. Still the Report will show that something has been done. It is to be hoped, however, that what has been done will be accepted only as an earnest of what could be and ought to be done; and that all the members of the Bombay Branch will heartily co-operate in making it the right hand of the East India Association. (Applause.) With these few remarks, I call upon Mr. Pherozechah M. Mehta to read the Report.

MR. PHEROZESHAN M. MEHTA, one of the Honorary Secretaries, then read the Annual Report, which is given in full in subsequent pages.

Proposed by Mr. MAHADEVA GOVIND RANADE, seconded by Mr. HORMASJEE ARDASEER WADYA, and carried, that the Annual Report just read be adopted.

MR. MAHADEVA GOVIND RANADE said: Sir, I have been asked to move the first resolution, that the Report now read be adopted. I do so with some misgivings, for I think my being on the Committee of Management disqualifies me in some sense from standing up here and asking the general meeting to ratify by their sanction the work done by the Committee. This ratification should come from members who are not on the Committee. I feel, however, this consolation, that members here will have little cause to discredit my statements, for I am not going to exaggerate the importance of the work done by the Committee, or to conceal its many defects and shortcomings. The success or failure of an association ought always to be judged of in relation to the sphere of work,

it proposes for itself. Looked at in this light, the Branch Association here was never intended to be an independent political body; its sphere was limited towards supplying the Parent Association in England with facts and suggestions, and, above all, with pecuniary help to enable it to pay its expenses. Now, so far as this service is concerned, I must congratulate this body upon the fact that we have done our duty, if not right nobly, at least far better than any other city in India. The Bombay Branch of the Association reckons some 700 subscribers scattered all over the country—a fact which demonstrates the wide sympathy felt for the work of the East India Association by the Natives of this Presidency. Out of this large number, more than one hundred have, I am glad to see, consented to become life-members by contributing a lump sum of one hundred rupees to the funds of the Association. More than twenty-five of these life-members are the leading Sirdars and Chiefs in the Southern Maratha Country, and the provinces of Gujerath and Kattywar. Three of the Chiefs of this latter province have been our most munificent patrons. All this shows that the sympathy for the work of the East India Association is not confined to the classes who have partaken of the benefit of an English education, but that the leading Chiefs and Princes of India, either of their own accord, or under the guidance of wise Ministers, have come to perceive that the usefulness of the East India Association for promoting the interests of India was great beyond measure, and deserved their fullest sympathy and co-operation. This, I think, is a matter on which the Branch Association may well be congratulated for its success. I regret I cannot say as much in favour of the exertions of the Managing Committee in the other sphere of its proposed work, to furnish from time to time the Parent Association with credible information and facts and suggestions upon the various questions which have attracted public attention during the last two years. I confess the Committee have been able to do but little in this way. On behalf of the Committee, I take the blame to myself in part, but I must be allowed to say that the sympathy of the public with this latter portion of its work was not shown in a manner to encourage spontaneous action. The public seemed to be listless and indifferent on these points. I trust, however, the promise made in the last paragraph of the Report will be kept, and the Committee will be in a position to speak more creditably of this part of its work next year. I say this with confidence, because I feel that the Parent Association has certainly extended its usefulness in England, has attracted more public notice, and has secured the sympathies of many of the leading men in England. Only this day, all of you must have seen the paper read before a meeting of the East India Association, by Sir Bartle Frere, proposing a scheme by which public

opinion in India should find a recognized mouth-piece. Sir Bartle Frere is a member of the Council of India. He has filled with great honour to himself the highest posts in the Indian Empire for more than thirty years, and when such a man comes forward with a suggestion for conferring the benefit of representative councils upon the villages, talookas, and provinces of India, and thinks it worth his while to read such a paper before the East India Association, he reflects equal credit upon that body as upon himself. Such an expression of opinion in such high quarters is worth securing at any cost. The same might be said of many other retired old Indians who have come forward to help the Association with their wide experience and sympathy—men like Sir Charles Wingfield, the Commissioner of Oude, Sir Robert Montgomery, Sir Charles Trevelyan, Mr. Eastwick, Mr. Pratt, and others whom I might name in numbers. The permanent success of an association must always depend a great deal upon the class and character of the men who join its ranks. In this respect, I am glad to see that the constituency of the East India Association consists, first, of retired old Indians who find in the meetings of this body a convenient channel wherewith to communicate to the English public the results of their large experience. These retired old Indians, both those who belong to the Services and those who were members of the different professions and trades, are likely to increase more and more in numbers and in usefulness. Along with them the East India Association counts upon its future supporters among the ranks of those representatives of the Native races of India who visit England on one account or another, and some of whom at least will not fail to help the work of the Association by their sympathies and co-operation. Our only representative now, though the best that we can send, is Professor Dadabhai, whose absence this day is much to be regretted. Men of his stamp, I am sure, will in course of time increase more and more in numbers and activity. Lastly, there are the philanthropic Englishmen, both in and out of Parliament, who will certainly not be backward in their help. With such a large and powerful constituency, I am quite sure the future of the East India Association is bright with the promise of manifold activity. I hope also that this Branch Association, while it will do its best to insure this future by supplying funds to pay the expenses of the parent body, and the charges of the publication of its "Journal," will, by securing more sympathy in the other presidencies, be in a position also to help the parent body in England with its intellectual contributions, well-digested facts, and suggestions and proposals in respect of the great questions which concern the welfare of India. I trust the reflex influence of the activity of the parent body will tell upon the branch here, and we shall be able next year to report more creditably about this latter part of our work than we have done this year. (Loud applause.)

Mr. HORMASJEE ARDASHEER WADYA said: In rising, Sir, to second the resolution just proposed, I hope the meeting will bear with me in the few remarks I feel tempted to make on a perusal of the Report. First, with regard to the financial condition of the Branch Association. Although the sum of Rs.15,000 is a very handsome one, I will request members to look more carefully into the matter. The sum of Rs.15,000 is a magnificent one, but it is a delusive sum, nevertheless. For, gentlemen, if we analyse that sum, we will find that out of the Rs.15,000, Rs.12,000 are made up of donations, life subscriptions, and the sum collected by Mr. Ardeshir Framjee Moos, prior to the foundation of the Branch Association, in June, 1869. This leaves something like Rs. 3,000 as the amount of the annual subscriptions sent to the Parent Association for its current expenses. Now, gentlemen, surely you cannot seriously think that this sum, sent in the course of two years, is anything like an adequate assistance on our part to an association which has gained so good a position as the East India Association has in London. Those, Sir, who know what an expensive place London is, only require to be told the amount to be able to judge how meagre it is. Sir, I make these remarks in no spirit of hostility to the Association, but because I know that the Council in London have observed this with no little anxiety and no small discouragement; and, gentlemen, you cannot be surprised at that anxiety and that discouragement when you consider that, in proportion as the Association is gaining in importance and influence in England, our support is growing less and less, and the enthusiasm which was kindled two years ago, and which led us to expect so much, has, I will not say entirely been extinguished, but has cooled down a good deal. Now, Sir, I know that this is partly owing to the calamity which visited Bombay last year—one of those periodical calamities from which Bombay has suffered for the last five years. But I sincerely hope that there will soon take place a steady improvement, not only in the circumstances over which probably we have no control, but also in circumstances over which we do have some control, so that the assistance Bombay may give to the Parent Association may be commensurate with the importance of its enterprise, and come fully up to the height of the expectations which those who know the past of Bombay have learnt to form of our townsmen. I come now, Sir, to the other important function which the Branch Association is expected to perform mainly, of supplying the Parent Association with information. During two years, only three gentlemen have come out to read papers on important subjects, and I am sure the members will join the Committee in thanking these gentlemen. This circumstance is not very encouraging. I know the great difficulty here is that those who have the ability have

not the leisure, and those who have the leisure have not the ability to read papers before the Association. We have not here those gentlemen who, after a long life of useful service, and after gaining great experience and knowledge, come out to speak with authority on important subjects. But I believe, Sir, that if those among us who have the ability will think of this as a matter of *duty*, the necessary leisure will be soon at hand. Besides, it is not absolutely necessary that we should read elaborate and learned papers. I think we can with no little advantage comment upon and discuss the very able papers read in London, so that we may not only give our opinions—the opinions of the Native community—on those subjects, but may also diffuse political knowledge and stimulate political discussion here. I think, Sir, the members ought to congratulate the Council in London on the success which has attended their efforts to get a Committee to inquire into the financial condition of India. (Applause.) At the same time, I cannot but regret that when once the cumbrous machinery of a Parliamentary Committee has been set in motion, the inquiry should not be more thoroughly searching, so that once for all we may have done with inquiries, and some active legislation may be the result of all the evidence produced. But, gentlemen, let us not forget, above all, that much yet remains to be done, and for that we must have the co-operation of our countrymen in the sister presidencies. The object of our Association is national, and our efforts must be national too. Bombay alone cannot hope to succeed. It will be only when we are all combined and heartily co-operate—when Bombay and Madras and Bengal go hand in hand—that we may hope to do something towards bringing about that happy consummation—(applause)—when England will, by a consistent course of good government, win our regards, and, instead of ruling us through our fears, govern us through our affection, and India, in the fulness of her gratitude for that good government, will forget its origin.

Proposed by Dr. BHAI DAJI, seconded by Mr. ARDASEER FRAMJEE Moos, and carried, that the Hon. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., C.S.I., be re-elected President for the next year.

Proposed by Mr. KHUNDEROW CHIMANRAO BEDARKUR, seconded by Mr. PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA, and carried, that, pursuant to Rule 7, the nomination of W. Wedderburn, Esq., as one of the Vice-Presidents, be confirmed.

RAO SAHIB VISHVANATH NARAYEN MANDLIK, in proposing the next resolution, said he was glad to notice one dissentient voice regarding the labours of the Committee, and he was glad at the expression of an independent opinion on the subject. No body could proceed of itself to correct its own errors, and was always the last to perceive them unless

they were pointed out. He could not, however, say in the present case that he, as a member of the Managing Committee, should like to plead guilty. The Managing Committee had certainly not done all that could be done—a remark which might apply to every institution under the sun; but for his part he could say that he had tried to do what was practicable; and he believed every one of his colleagues would be able to say as much for himself. (Hear.) Should such happen not to be the case, he trusted that the new Committee would do more and improve upon their predecessors, and thus afford them a better prospect for the future.

Proposed by RAO SAHIB VISHVANATH NARAYEN MANDLIK, and seconded by Dr. ATMARAM PANDURUNG, and carried, that the Managing Committee for the next year be composed of the following gentlemen: *Chairman*: Dr. Bhau Daji. *Vice-Chairman*: W. Martin Wood, Esq. *Honorary Secretaries*: Pherozechah M. Mehta, Esq., and Bala Mangesh Wagle, Esq. *Treasurers*: Ardaseer Framjee Moos, Esq., and Hormasjee Ardaseer Wadya, Esq. *Committee*: Dr. Atmaram Pandurung; Budroodeen Tyabji, Esq.; Cursetji Nusserwanji Cama, Esq.; Dhunjeebhoy Framji Patell, Esq.; Rev. Dhunjeebhoy Naoroji; Dr. R. A. Dallas; Dr. Dhirajram Dulpotrem; Dr. P. F. Gomes; Hormasjee Dadabhoy, Esq.; Jehanghir Burjorji Vacha, Esq.; Jehanghir Merwanji, Esq.; Janardhan Sakaram Gadgill, Esq.; Javerilal Oomyashunker, Esq.; Khurshedji Rustomjee Cama, Esq.; Robert Knight, Esq.; Khanderao Chimanrao Bedarkar, Esq.; Kaikhosru Naorojee Kabra, Esq.; Matthias Mull, Esq.; Mahadeva Govind Ranade, Esq.; Muncherji Cowasji Murzban, Esq.; Muncherji Naoroji Banaji, Esq.; H. Manisty, Esq.; Narayen Wassoodewji, Esq.; Nanabhoy Byramji Jejeebhoy, Esq.; Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Esq.; George Frederick Rimington, Esq.; Sorabji Shapoorji Bengalee, Esq.; Shantaram Narayen, Esq.; Thackordas Atmaram, Esq.; Rao Sahib Vishvanath Narayen Mandlik.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said he did not wish his name to be placed in that position, because he could not do justice to it, it being exceedingly difficult for him to be present at meetings of the Committee.

Mr. PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA: In spite of all his difficulties, Mr. Wood has done the most for us, and he has, I think, been more active than any other member of the Committee. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. WOOD: This remark is the most severe of any that has been made upon the Managing Committee.

Mr. PHEROZESHAH: Whether severe or otherwise, it is nevertheless true. (A laugh.)

The proceedings closed here with a vote of thanks to the Chairman, proposed by Nakhoda Mahomed Ali Rogay, Esq., and seconded by Bala Mangesh Wagle, Esq.

MR. DADABHAI NAOROJI'S VIEWS.

The following letter from Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Honorary Secretary of the East India Association of London, to the address of Mr. Pherozebhāi M. Mehta, one of the Secretaries of the Bombay Branch, was intended to be read at the meeting, but was received too late for the purpose:—

Dear Sir,—I regret very much indeed my inability to attend the annual meeting, as I wished to give some explanations personally as to the present position of our Association and our duty towards it. I have therefore to request you to read the following few remarks from me before the meeting, addressed to my Native friends.

When I had the pleasure of addressing the Bombay members in 1869, I was hardly prepared for results such as have actually taken place. The last two years of the Association have been of an important and practical character. You are already aware of the subjects discussed during the first of these two years. From a list of the subjects discussed during the last year it will be observed that Indian finance was the principal topic of discussion, ending in the important result of the appointment of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on a motion first made by Mr. Fawcett, and subsequently taken up by the Prime Minister, Sir Charles Wingfield and Mr. Eastwick presenting our petitions.

Besides the above satisfactory and useful result, there are certain very encouraging features in the progress of the Association during the last year. The first is, that several distinguished Indian officials have taken an active part. It is enough for me to point, as an instance, to the names of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Charles Trevelyan in the above list. It will be a large list for me to give the names of all those who have taken an active interest in our welfare. The help of persons like our noble President, our Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and many other members of Parliament, and gentlemen of Indian experience, has naturally given to our Association much weight and influence. The friends of India, who had hitherto been obliged to content themselves with only occasional expressions of their sentiments, are now taking the opportunity to carry out their benevolent intentions in continuous efforts through the instrumentality of our Association. To understand and appreciate the full benefit of this circumstance, we must clearly realize to ourselves the extreme necessity we have for our Association in England and for such active aid as I have alluded to. We must remember that *all* the great principles of Indian administration must be ultimately decided in England. It is in England alone that measures could be adopted by which the Indian taxpayer can have a fair voice in his taxa-

tion. The Legislative Councils are a creation of Parliament, and in Parliament alone can any alteration be made in their constitution. It is in England alone that the second great question of the people of India getting a fair share in the administration of their country (consistently with British political supremacy) in all departments, could be decided and forced into action. You are aware that in one service (the Engineers) there is a rule to admit qualified Natives in India, but somehow or other it has so happened that the Native does *not* find admission except to a *very small* extent of late. Again, all important questions relating to the wants of the various Services, no matter whether English or Native, have their ultimate sanction in England. The great question of the Army, its extent and expenditure, the question of home charges, of the necessary control and review of the doings of Indian Governments,—all these belong to England.

The relations of Native States with the paramount power will be always regulated or controlled from England, and the need of an independent Association in England to the Native Princes is indeed very great. Lastly, the following greatest and the most vital questions to India can be settled in England only: How to counteract the natural impoverishing effect of a political drain to a foreign country by economy in expenditure, both in India and at home, on the one hand, and of increasing the production and communication of this country on the other; and where and how to obtain the capital for all necessary original public works, both “ordinary” and “extraordinary.” In short, the fountain-head of power is in England, and there only have all Indian interests their ultimate fate. I wish you, gentlemen, to bear this clearly in mind, and then you will fully understand the necessity of our Association in England, and intelligently estimate and appreciate the value and obligation of the aid of distinguished and experienced Indian officials or ex-officials, and other English gentlemen of Indian experience. I have not the least hesitation in saying no member of our local Associations, though essential and doing much good for local purposes, can supply the need of a body at the fountain-head itself, when there is the additional advantage of the benefit of experienced men, who, being no longer barred by official shackles or rules, can express their opinions freely and fully.

Our Association has, as I have already said, secured this necessary aid. The friends of India are rallying round it, and helping in increasing English public interest, and thereby remedying many evils from which India suffers, to the detriment both of the ruler and the ruled. The second encouraging feature I wish to bring to your notice is this: Our Association, as you are well aware, means no hostility to Government. Its object is to *help*, as far as intelligent, independent opinion and

criticism can do so, in the right administration of the country. I am glad to say that I believe Government so understand, as they listen to our representations, and help us in every way by supplying us with information and presenting us their publications. The India Office has presented to us Parliamentary Returns since 1859, selections from Government Records as many as they could spare, and many other works on India from the India Office Library. The different Governments in India have shown an equal readiness in acceding to similar requests. When all the applications are granted, we shall have our set of these useful official publications for the use of the Bombay Branch also. One other important result of the circumstance of the right understanding of our intention by Government has been, that on many occasions official correspondence and trouble has been saved by some of the members of our Council, especially Mr. Eastwick and Sir Charles Wingfield, conferring personally at the India Office on any point our Council wished to take up, and disposing of it in an expeditious manner; as much work is thus done behind the scene as before it, which does not come before the public. The Press of India again is treating our Association with consideration, and gives it every help, besides fair criticism upon its work. Many proprietors present their papers for the use of the reading-room of the Association. The Annual Report, which will shortly be published, will give a list of these papers. The interest of the Press of England is also gradually increasing, and we have had from time to time much aid from it. You must have observed how, on several occasions, the *Times* put in a word in time. I have endeavoured, gentlemen, to show you, as briefly as possible, how indispensable the East India Association is for us; how our English friends are working to raise us; how Government is willing to listen to reasonable and just representations; how the Press, both here and in England, is helping us; in short, how we have now all the elements of success in our favour. It now remains for us to realize to ourselves the good fortune, and to show ourselves deserving of it, by not only continuing the support which you readily came forward to give in 1869, but must increase our exertions to secure still greater support. If we fail in doing our duty to supply the sinews of war to those who are fighting for us, we shall have to thank ourselves if we sink in increasing poverty and remain mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water." Let us patriotically come forward and increase the support we have hitherto given, to show, in the most emphatic manner, that we understand our needs and appreciate and feel grateful for the kind help we receive at Englishmen's hands. I earnestly trust that we shall prove ourselves deserving of the aid which our English friends in and out of Parliament, and in and out of Government, are giving us, and enable them,

through the instrumentality of our Association, to raise India in prosperity, and political and social position equal to their own. The select Committee will, I hope, do good work. Some half-a-dozen members of our Council and Association are also members of the Committee. Our Council are watching its proceedings with interest, and doing what they can, both privately and publicly, to turn its labours to the best account. I repeat, let us, Natives, prove ourselving deserving of all this kindness.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

Gentlemen,—Your Committee beg to submit to you the Report of the operations of this Society from the date of its foundation up to February, 1871—a period of a little more than a year and a-half. No report was presented in February, 1870, because this Branch had then just been formed, and your Committee were engaged more in putting things into working order than in realizing actual results.

One of the principal objects of this Branch is to collect subscriptions and donations for our parent body. The accounts of the collections and disbursements made up to the present period are given in Appendix A. They have been audited by Messrs. Ardaseer Framjee Moos and Hormasjee Ardaseer Wadya.

The thanks of this Branch are due to these gentlemen for the trouble which they have taken in auditing the accounts, as also for making out a list of the arrears of subscriptions for the years 1869-70, which is given in Appendix B. It will be seen that the number of arrears for both these years is still very large, and your Committee hope that, as soon as this state of things is made known, members, particularly those residing in the Mofussil, who have not paid, will send in their subscriptions without waiting for an application for that purpose.

The collections, irrespective of the Translation Fund, amount altogether to the sum of Rs.18,424-3-3. The disbursements are Rs.3,177-7-7. They are a little beyond the limit assigned to them by Rule 5, owing to the circumstance that, besides the strictly local expenses of this Branch, they include others which are incurred in consequence of this body being employed by the Parent Association, not only as its agent with respect to the presidency of Bombay, but also with respect to the other parts of India.

In spite of this additional burden, and in spite of the large number of arrears, your Committee cannot but congratulate this Branch on the amount of the remittances which they have been enabled to make—viz., Rs.15,019-1-4. They feel confident that such a sum will go far towards

establishing the Association on a secure and permanent footing. In sending their first remittance, your Committee addressed the Council of the Association on the subject as follows:—"The Managing Committee wish to take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Council to the mode of using and investing the funds, present and future, which they may have the pleasure of forwarding to them. As to the annual subscriptions, there can be no doubt that the Association has the fullest liberty of employing them in defraying its current expenses, or in any other manner that may appear to it most proper. With respect, however, to the life-subscriptions and donations, it seems to the Managing Committee that they should be invested as a permanent trust-fund, the interest only arising from which should be spent. Most of the life-subscriptions and donations which they have forwarded to the Council, have been given on the understanding that they should go to the formation of a permanent trust-fund for the Association. The Managing Committee have no doubt that the Council will take this matter into their serious consideration, and arrive at a just and satisfactory conclusion." In reply, your Committee received the fullest assurances with respect to the adoption of the plan proposed by them, and they hope that a detailed account of these investments may find a place in future Reports of the Association for the satisfaction of members.

Your Committee have to express, on behalf of this Branch, their deep regret at the deaths of two of its most munificent supporters—viz., the Thakores of Gondul and Bhownuggur, who had promised to contribute annually Rs.2,400 and 1,000 respectively. These contributions have, since their deaths, been discontinued by the officers in charge of those States. The contribution of the Thakore of Gondul, which was for the specific purpose of supporting the publication of the *Journal of the East India Association*, was guaranteed by his late Highness to continue for three years certain under any contingency whatsoever, and your Committee regret to say that the Administrator in charge of the Gondul State has not thought fit to reply to their representations on the subject. The *Journal of the East India Association* has always been a most valuable and useful publication, and has lately increased considerably in its value and utility, owing to contributions from several of the most notable of living Indian statesmen. It would be a sad blow to the growth and progress of a healthy and vigorous discussion of Indian politics, if the publication of the "Journal" is stopped, but such will undoubtedly be the case unless some nobleman or gentleman, possessed of the same discriminating and judicious liberality as his late Highness the Thakore of Gondul, comes forward to give it his patronage in a similar manner.

A very important addition has recently been made to the "Journal," which, your Committee feel confident, will be of immense benefit to the diffusion and cultivation of political thought in India. In October, 1869, a resolution was passed by your Committee, on the motion of Messrs. Pherozechah M. Mehta, and W. Wedderburn, to the following effect: "That the Council of the East India Association be requested to collect and publish all the Parliamentary Indian Debates, Bills and Acts of each Session, in a separate and distinct number of the "Journal." The Council immediately acknowledged the value of this suggestion, and, after much difficult negotiation, they have, at length, succeeded in obtaining special permission from Messrs. Hansards, the Parliamentary Publishers, to publish in a separate form those portions of Hansard's Parliamentary Debates which relate to India. Your Committee have already received the first number, containing the Debates during the Session of 1870, from the 28th June to the 7th August, and copies can be had of the Honorary Secretaries on the payment of Rs. 1½ per copy. It is to be earnestly desired that the public will recognize the great usefulness of this undertaking, and will secure its permanence, in their own interests, by insuring it such a wide circulation as will cover the outlay that has been incurred on it.

One of the earliest efforts of your Committee was directed towards starting Marathi and Guzerati Translations of the "Journal," for the benefit of the great majority of the people who would prefer to read it in their own vernaculars. A number of young gentlemen, having offered themselves as volunteers for the task, their services were thankfully accepted by your Committee. These gentlemen have succeeded in issuing several numbers of a Marathi Translation of the "Journal," in the form of monthly issues; and your Committee think that they deserve the thanks of this body for their disinterested exertions. They were unable, however, to proceed with the Guzerati Translation of the "Journal." Fortunately, this circumstance having been brought to the knowledge of his Highness the Nawab of Joonaghur, that Prince, being alive to the benefits likely to be derived from such a publication, most generously and munificently offered to bear the expenses of it up to Rs. 1,000 a-year. Your Committee having thankfully accepted this offer—and they take this opportunity of renewing their thanks in the name of this Branch—they have now started a Guzerati Translation under their own immediate direction and control. The first three numbers of the "Journal" for 1870 are already translated and issued, and a fourth number is in print, and will be out in a few days. Your Committee are gratified to observe that these translations have met with the full approval of the whole Guzerati Press, who have extracted largely from them for the information of

the public. Your Committee feel sanguine that their efforts in this respect will not have been made in vain, and that a wide circulation will secure, on a stable footing, an undertaking eminently calculated to disseminate useful political knowledge among the masses of the Guzerati-speaking population of the Bombay Presidency. The subscription for the Guzerati Number is fixed at Rs.3-8 per year for members. The Honorary Secretaries receive the names of those wishing to subscribe. The account of the Nawab of Joonaghur's Guzerati Translation Fund is given in Appendix C.

Several valuable papers and lectures have been read before this Society during the period under review. In December, 1869, Mr. Pherozechah M. Mehta, one of your Honorary Secretaries, read a paper on the "Grant-in-Aid System" in the Presidency of Bombay, which now appears in No. 2 of Vol. IV. of the *East India Association Journal*. The subject of the Suspension of the Victoria Scholarships was brought before this Branch, in January, 1870, by Mr. Bala Mangesh Wagle, Honorary Secretary, and several resolutions were passed, deprecating the suspension of those scholarships, which resolutions were transmitted by the Council of the East India Association to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India. From the resolution and the reply of the Duke of Argyll, it appears that the scholarships were given up in favour of the measure subsequently incorporated in Clause 6 of the East India (Laws and Regulations) Act (33 Vict. c. 3.) Your Committee, while fully admitting the good intentions and liberal spirit of its framers, regret that they are unable to approve of the principle of that measure, which is not only utterly inadequate for the purpose of removing the special difficulties in the way of the admission of the Natives of India into the Civil Service of their country, but is positively dangerous and pernicious in the inevitable tendency which it discloses of reviving the obnoxious system of patronage. This was pointed out to this Branch in a paper read on the subject, in April, 1870, by Mr. Pherozechah M. Mehta, when resolutions were passed against the measure. These resolutions have been sent to the Council of the East India Association, but that body has thought it advisable to postpone taking any action on them, till the orders, which are to be prepared pursuant to the Act to give effect to the measure, are framed and published, and which it is thought may render the measure, if not efficient, at least innocuous.

In February, 1870, two lectures were delivered in Guzerati, by Mr. Kaikhosro N. Kabra, on "The East India Association and the British Government;" and in May of the same year the same gentleman delivered four lectures, also in Guzerati, on "Indian Finance and the Income-tax." Such lectures are eminently calculated to diffuse political

knowledge and stimulate political discussion, and your Committee earnestly call on the large number of members in this body, fully capable of co-operating in this patriotic enterprise, to come forward to do the duty which they owe in this respect to themselves and their countrymen.

Your Committee offer the warmest thanks of this body to the several gentlemen who have read papers or lectures before them.

In the month of February last, your Committee prepared petitions to the Houses of Parliament, praying for a Select Committee on Indian Affairs, similar to those uninterruptedly appointed at an interval of something like twenty years from 1782 to 1853. The petitions were adopted at a meeting of this Branch on the 17th day of March, 1871, and have been forwarded to the Council of the East India Association, with a request to get them properly presented.* It is a well-known fact that the exertions of our Parent Society to obtain a Parliamentary Indian Committee have been so far successful, that a Committee of the House of Commons has been appointed to inquire into the finances and the financial condition of India. The scope of this inquiry is said to be of such a character, that it will necessarily embrace the majority of Indian subjects. If such is really the case, your Committee cannot but think that the objection against a more extended inquiry, on the ground of its impracticability, can hardly be considered to be of much weight, as the scope of a Committee on the affairs of India generally would be really not very much larger than that of this present Committee. It is to be hoped that the prayers of your petitions will meet with deliberate consideration.

On the motion of Messrs. W. M. Wood and Pherozezshah M. Mehta, your Committee have distributed several copies of Mr. Bright's Indian Speeches. The object of the distribution is explained in the memorandum given in Appendix G, which accompanied the copies.

By the authority vested in your Committee by Rule VII., they have elected Mr. W. Wedderburn one of the Vice-Presidents of this body, in recognition of the great interest which that gentleman took in, and the valuable assistance which he rendered to, your Committee, during the time he was Vice-Chairman of the Managing Committee.

Your Committee have to offer their best thanks to the Bombay, Madras, and Punjaub Governments for kindly presenting the Branch with a copy of some of their publications. They also owe thanks to the Committee of the Franjee Hall for kindly giving the use of their hall very freely for meetings of the Committee as well as of our general body.

* The petition was presented in the House of Commons on Friday, the 12th May, 1871, by Mr. E. B. Eastwick, C.B., M.P. for Falmouth, Chairman of the Council of the East India Association.

In concluding this Report, your Committee cannot but be conscious that, while much yet remains to be done, the formation of this Branch has contributed something to the advancement of the aims and objects of the East India Association, and this reflection strongly suggests to them the desirability of the establishment of similar Branches in the sister Presidencies and the other great divisions of India. The constitution of the East India Association, aiming to become the mouth-piece of all India at head-quarters, cannot be said to be fully completed, and its capabilities brought into full action, till it is founded on a constituent substratum composed of all the various Indian nationalities. Your Committee feel confident that this only requires to be brought to the knowledge of the public-spirited men of the sister Presidencies to incite them to organize Branches similar to the Bombay Branch. They therefore propose to send copies of this Report to some of the leading men in various parts of India, as showing by actual experience what could be effected, even in times of difficulty and depression, by such bodies as ours, and to appeal to them to take active measures to co-operate with us in our present enterprise.

APPENDIX A.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.
From June, 1869, to June 30, 1871.

To Receipts as under :—		By Expenditure as under :—	
Balance received from A. F. Moos	Rs. 2,219 3 3	Salary of Clerk and Sepoys.....	Rs. 1,093 8 0
Do. Life Subscription	6,661 6 0	Printing and Advertisement	851 9 0
Do. Annual Sub. and Journal, 1867 ..	3,440 0 0	Stationery	148 9 0
Do. Do.	29 4 0	Overland Postage	69 6 8
Do. Do. 1868	137 6 0	Local Do.	75 3 2
Do. Do. 1869	3,447 8 0	Journal Postage and Expenses	306 14 9
Do. Do. 1870	1,489 8 0	Subscription for a copy of the "Bombay Gazette" and two copies of the "Indian Economist" ..	132 0 0
Do. received from the Nawab of Joonaghur for publishing Translation of the Association's Journal into Gujarati	1,000 0 0	Dead Stock and Office Furniture	189 0 0
Amount sent by the Thakore of Bhownagur through the Secretaries in Bombay to the address of Captain Barber, and remitted by them to England by a Government Promissory Note	1,000 0 0	Subscription refunded, having been paid twice.	13 8 0
		Petty Expenses	297 13 0
		Charges incurred on account of Translation of the Association's Journal into Gujarati, and printing the same into No. 1 and No. 2, Vol. IV., Pamphlets, 300 copies each ..	641 8 0
		Remittances made by the Secretaries to the Association's Secretary in England as under :—	
		12th July, 1869	Rs. 6,311 15 1
		20th " " 1869	1,000 0 0
		9th October, 1869	4,371 1 9
		28th June, 1870	1,100 0 0
		17th March, 1871	940 13 2
		31st " " 1871	1,296 0 0
		Balance in the National Bank ...	551 8 9
		" in hand	33 12 11
			15,019 14 0
			585 5 8
			Rs. 19,424 3 3

Bombay, June 26, 1871.

ARDASER FRAMJEE MOOS,
HORMASJEE ARDASEER WADYA,

} Auditors.

APPENDIX B.

ARREARS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION.

1869.		
163 Members, @ Rs.10	Rs 1,630	0
1 Member who owes Rs.5	5	0
Total.....	1,635	0
1870.		
266 Members, @ Rs.10	2,660	0
		Rs.4,295 0

JOURNAL SUBSCRIPTION.

1869.		
195 Members, @ Rs.3½.....	682	8
1870.		
342 Members, @ Rs.3½.....	1,197	0
		Rs.1,879 8
Total.....		Rs.6,274 8

APPENDIX C.

ACCOUNT OF H.H. THE NAWAB OF JOONAGHUR'S GUZERATI
TRANSLATION FUND.

Annual Contribution of the	Printing Charges	Rs.248	0
Nawab of Joonaghur.....Rs.1,000	Miscellaneous Charges	33	8
0	Translation Charges	360	0
	Balance in hand	358	8
Total Amount... Rs.1,000	Total Rupees.....	1,000	0
0			

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